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ANGLICAN EVANGELICALISM

I

THE RISE AND MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF THE
ANGLICAN EVANGELICAL MOVEMENT IN
ENGLAND AND AMERICA

By Alexander Clinton Zabriskie

THE RISE AND MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ANGLICAN EVANGELICAL MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA

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THE RISE AND MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ANGLICAN EVANGELICAL MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA

*By Alexander Clinton Zabriskie**

FOR the sake of convenience the Evangelical movement in the Church of England can be divided into four periods marked off from one another by the differing emphases of the leaders. These emphases in turn are due to the different problems which the leaders faced. The first group of leaders can be termed the Awakeners: their main problem was to awaken an inert and indifferent population by preaching of sin and judgment, of forgiveness and eternal life. The second group were the Pastors and Organizers: their task was to guide awakened and conscience-stricken people in the paths of righteousness, and to organize their resources for more efficient service to God and man. The third group were the Ecclesiastical Partizans: their effort was to stem the rising tides of Tractarianism and biblical criticism which seemed to be endangering the purity and power of the Gospel and to be leading the Church into false paths. If it be remembered that these groups were not hard and fast, that the Awakeners were pastors and the Organizers were awakeners and the Ecclesiastical Partizans were trying to be both, they will serve to indicate successive phases of the movement. The fourth group is more difficult to label; the problem confronting its leaders was to reorient the movement so as to bring it to terms with the new knowledge achieved in the fields of natural science, the history of religion, biblical and historical criticism, and with the ethical problems presented by a highly industrialized society, as well as to appropriate the valuable elements of the Anglo-Catholic development.

The Evangelical revival began when the mental, moral and spiritual life of England was at its lowest ebb. Carlyle's terrible characterization of the period was deserved, "soul extinct, stomach well alive."¹ Every

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¹There is no space in this essay to present the facts that substantiate this statement. It is abundantly borne out by earlier works like Lecky's *England in the 18th Century* and Abbey and Overton's *The Church of England in the 18th Century* (London 1878), and by more recent books such as Bready's *England Before and After Wesley* (New York, 1938). The last named is the most graphic and thoroughly documented.

phase of activity in Church and State, every stratum of society from the highest to the lowest, was in the slough. Bribery, gambling, drunkenness, sexual promiscuity, abduction, political corruption, business chicanery, robbery, were only the more obvious types of moral depravity. Nothing is more revealing than Sir J. Barnard's motion in Parliament in 1754 to repeal the oath against bribery on the ground that it had become merely the cause of universal perjury. The connection between this depravity of morals and the loss of Christian faith is illustrated by the remark ascribed to Lady Montague: "They ought to take the *not* out of the Decalogue and put it in the Creed."

The condition of the Church was beyond words. Pluralism was rife. The higher offices were regarded simply as sources of revenue and rewards for political service. The secularity of the prelates is revealed in a letter written by George III to Archbishop Cornwallis at the instigation of Lady Huntington, rebuking him for holding routs in Lambeth Palace and imploring him to study and pray. The lower clergy were desperately poor. Few more terrible accounts of contemporary conditions have ever been written than Stackhouse's pamphlet, "The Miseries and Hardships of the Inferior Clergy in and about London."² The sermons were devoid of living faith. Bishop Hoadly wrote in one of his charges, "We make no use of the high commission we bear than to come aboard, one day in seven, dressed in solemn looks and the external part of holiness, to be the apes of Epictetus;" and Blackstone, in a much quoted letter, wrote that early in the reign of George III he sat under every preacher of note in London and heard not a single discourse with more of Christianity in it than had the writings of Cicero and that, for all the preachers said, it would have been impossible to tell whether they were followers of Confucius, Mohammed or Christ. The flames of religious vitality were nearly as low in non-conformity though the reasons for the blight were different.

I. THE AWAKENERS

The first period of the Anglican Evangelical Movement began when God laid hold of a few, rather widely-scattered clergymen and they, after their conversion, became the centers of revivals in their neighborhoods. There are three chief questions about this period: Who were the main figures and what was their work? What had they in common which marked them off as Evangelicals? What was their relation, and consequently the relation of the Anglican phase of the Evangelical revival, to the Wesleys and to the Lady Huntington Connexion? Of

²London, 1726.

these three the first is the least important for our present purposes, because the story of the leaders has been well told several times and therefore needs no special treatment in this essay. Because the Anglican Evangelical Movement is still regarded in many quarters as simply one result, and a relatively unimportant one, of the work of John Wesley, the third question is very important.

1. The leaders in this first period were of three types: highly unusual evangelists, regarded as picturesque by their friends and eccentric or worse by those out of sympathy with them, such as Grimshaw of Haworth and Berridge of Everton; scholarly men who were chiefly preachers and writers, like Romaine of London and Hervey of Weston Flavell; more normal parish priests like Walker of Truro and Venn of Huddersfeld and Yelling.³

2. That which these men had in common and by which they were marked as Evangelicals was their message, their methods and their experience.

The basis of their message was man's sinfulness and inability to win for himself eternal life. This conviction was borne in upon them in different ways. Grimshaw's early career is sufficiently indicated in the record that "he refrained as much as possible from gross swearing except in suitable company, and when he got drunk he would take care to sleep it off before he came home."⁴ In his twenty-sixth year he became deeply concerned for his own salvation and that of his flock, gave up hunting, card-playing and drinking, began to take his ministerial duties seriously and turned to an intensive study of the Scriptures. The first result of this study was such a deepening sense of his own sin and helplessness and of the futility of his own moral efforts and pastoral diligence to win for him forgiveness and eternal life, that he dared not preach his convictions lest his congregation think him insane. Hervey was of exemplary character all his life. But one day as he was reading the two great commandments he asked himself whether they were as

³For accounts of their careers and work the reader is referred to such standard books as Ryle, *Christian Leaders of the Last Century*, London, 1902; Stephens, *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*, London, 1883; Middleton, *Biographia Evangelica*, four volumes, London, 1816; Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society*, three volumes, London, 1899; Balleine, *History of the Evangelical Party*, London, 1908; and the histories of the Evangelical Movement by Binns, New York, 1928; Overton, London, 1907; Russell, London, 1915; Cadogan, *Life of Rev. Wm. Romaine*, prefixed to *The Whole Works of the Late Rev. William Romaine*, London 1837; Sidney, *Life and Ministry of Rev. Samuel Walker, M. A.*, New York, 1859; Venn, *The Life and a Selection from the Letters of the late Rev. Henry Venn, M. A.*, London, 1839; Berridge, *The Christian World Unmasked*, to which is prefixed a biography of the author (London, 1805); Hervey, *Meditations and Contemplations*, to which is prefixed a memoir of the author (London, 1814); Balleine's *History of the Evangelical Party* contains excellent bibliographies, through it notes nothing published since 1909.

⁴Middleton, *Biographia Evangelica*, IV., 398.

binding as those against adultery and theft. Upon answering in the affirmative, he realized that, though he had never violated any of the decalogue, he had greatly failed to obey the divine injunction and that he was as really a sinner as a drunkard or a rake, with no chance of winning salvation on the score of fulfilling the law. Walker, a man of great social attainments, and Berridge, one of the most brilliant men at Cambridge in his day, neither of whom had ever transgressed the ten commandments, were awakened to the realization that they had lived for their own gratification, the one in society, the other in intellectual pastimes, and so had violated the first commandment, a violation which no exertion could make good. Romaine was nurtured in this conviction of sin by his Huguenot parents. Venn's approach to it was somewhat like Hervey's.

But if a conviction of sin and helplessness was the first tenet they held in common, a belief in the gracious mercy of God and the atonement wrought by Christ was the second. All alike came to this by study of the Scriptures; and the same Bible taught them all that God's forgiveness was appropriated by faith. In later years Grimshaw wrote of this discovery, "I was now willing to renounce myself with every degree of fancied merit and ability and to embrace Christ only for my all in all. O what light and comfort did I now enjoy in my soul, and what a taste of the pardoning love of God."⁵ Berridge one morning thought he heard a voice, "Cease thy works, only believe." He began at once a study of the words *faith* and *belief* throughout the Bible, as a result of which he threw away all his old sermons and began to preach justification by faith only.

Their third tenet was that to those who had faith, God would give the Holy Spirit to renew their characters and to bestow eternal life. But it must be said that, though they believed this strongly, they emphasized it relatively little because their desire to awaken people to the desperate plight they were in on account of their sinfulness and to induce them to believe in the forgiveness open to them as a result of Christ's atoning sacrifice, was so overwhelming that they rarely talked of anything else. These same convictions were largely responsible for their terrible sense of urgency. Men were going to hell all around them: they *had* to make every effort to save as many as they could.

Underlying these doctrines was another: that the Bible was the divinely inspired and altogether trustworthy Word of God to man. They believed that the Bible was inspired throughout, that whatever it taught man must believe and obey. In reading it they were undis-

⁵Middleton, *op. cit.* IV., 399.

turbed by the critical questions that were beginning to be raised during their lifetime.

In the stress on sin, the imminent danger of hell, the atonement, faith as the sole means to salvation, these men were marked off from the contemporary Anglican divines. They differed among themselves in their formulations. Some were Calvinists, Toplady the most vehemently so; some were Arminians, Fletcher most conspicuously; the majority were "moderates," moderate Calvinists like Romaine or moderate Arminians like Grimshaw. It is worth noting that those who were most conspicuous partizans in the controversy were those who were most closely identified with either the Wesleyan or Lady Huntington movements.

Certain methods employed by all with minor variations was another distinguishing feature.

The chief method upon which they relied to accomplish their mission was preaching. Always their sermons had the quality of instructions shouted by would-be rescuers to drowning men. Some of them used polished language, notably Romaine and Hervey; others, of whom Grimshaw was chief, spoke in colloquial terms and local dialects, drawing illustrations from the rough life of their hearers. But all of them preached "as men who had seen hell." Secondly, they relied on the Book of Common Prayer. To them it seemed to contain the truth, and their desire was so to use it that it might speak that truth to the whole congregation. It was said of Grimshaw that when he read the absolution or the "comfortable words" people felt as though God himself were saying them. Thirdly, they depended upon constant pastoral visiting. Their visits were far from pleasant social occasions, for these men came on pressing business which no pleasantries might overshadow. They were there to convert, to direct, to console. Their fourth rule of technique was the use of small groups. Those who had been awakened were divided into classes of about a dozen, which met weekly for Bible study, prayer and mutual encouragement. Each group had as its leader one of the more spiritually mature members. Most of the clergymen met with every one of their groups at least once a month and oftener if possible. Most of them agreed with Walker that there was danger of over-emotionalism and exhibitionism in these meetings, and that the best way to check such unfortunate factors was to have the pastor present frequently, and to insist that most of the time be given to study of the Bible rather than to sharing experiences.

These men differed on the question of itinerating to places outside their parishes. Walker would never go because he thought he had all he could do in his own parish; Hervey was always in poor health

and could not itinerate; Romaine went around often in his earlier years as one of Lady Huntington's chaplains, but ceased to do so after he became rector of St. Anne's Blackfriars. Grimshaw made frequent visitations in Cheshire, Lancashire, and Derbyshire; Berridge rode constantly through Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire; Venn itinerated around Yorkshire while he was at Huddersfield, but was unable to do so after bad health forced his removal to Yelling. They differed also in their use of the printed word, Romaine and Hervey being prolific writers while the others did but little; though Venn's *The Complete Duty of Man*⁶ had vast influence. They differed also in what might be termed "strong arm methods." On one occasion as a service was beginning, Grimshaw heard an uproar at the village "pub." Ordering the clerk to sing the 119th psalm, he got his riding crop, marched to the "pub," subdued the revellers, drove them before him to the Church, and then mounted the pulpit for his sermon. But these individual differences, due in part to temperament, to physical vigor, to natural endowment and to the people among whom they ministered, were of far less consequence than the methods used by all.

These Awakeners all had generally the same experience in their ministry. At the outset they met great opposition from their parishioners, from nearby clergy, from the gentry. The tale of their persecutions is a long one. Later, they won over pretty thoroughly the bulk of their parishioners but still faced the hostility of the gentry and the clergy. All of them began revivals which transformed their neighborhoods. Haworth was known when Grimshaw went there as one of the roughest places in England; it became conspicuous for its sobriety before he died. Walker produced such a change in Truro that on Sundays, according to a letter written by the commanding officer of the garrison, a cannon could be fired down every street of the town without the risk of wounding anybody, for all were at church. Similar results were accomplished by the others.

3. These features, common to all the Awakeners, were also common to the Wesleys, Whitefield and their associates. How then were the Awakeners related to them?

In the cases of Grimshaw, Berridge and Walker I can find no evidence that any material influence, direct or indirect, was exerted upon them by either the Wesleys or Whitefield.

Grimshaw's conversion began in 1734, four years before Wesley's. By 1742, when he entered upon his ministry in Haworth, his convictions were formed and he was using small groups similar to the Wesleyan "classes." His biographer, Middleton, writes:

⁶First published in 1763.

"All this time he was an entire stranger to serious persons, or to those who under God were the occasion of the revival of religion among us. He was also an entire stranger to their writings, except a single sermon on Galatians 3:24, and a letter to the people of England, published by the Rev. Mr. Seagrave, in which he was surprised to find the nature, life, spirituality and power of truth and doctrine, in all material points, to be the very same with what he now saw clearly in the word of God, and from which his peace had entirely flowed."⁷

Subsequently, he became acquainted with Whitefield, the Wesleys and some of their co-workers, welcomed them to his parish, itinerated occasionally with them. But always he reserved the right to pass judgment upon them. On one occasion when Whitefield was preaching in Haworth and began his sermon with engaging pleasantries, Grimshaw interrupted him, "For God's sake do not speak so. I pray you, do not flatter them. The greater part of them are going to hell with their eyes open."

In like manner, Berridge and Walker were converted, fashioned their distinctive message and adopted their procedures before they knew anything about the Wesleys or Whitefield. Walker, for instance, was in Oxford with the Wesleys and Whitefield, but never knew them. He gave no evidence of serious religious concern in those days. His change was due to conversations with a layman named Conor, master of the Truro Grammar School. Though he welcomed them later as fellow-workers, he directly refused Wesley's request to itinerate. Berridge did indulge in this practice but he declined a chaplaincy from Lady Huntington and refused to let anyone tell him what to do.

Romaine is sometimes wrongly regarded as a product of Wesley's movement. He was in Oxford with John Wesley; but there is no evidence that either of them ever heard of the other. From the outset of his ministry in 1737 his preaching was evangelical. For instance, the subject of the sermon he preached before the Lord Mayor of London in 1741 was "No Salvation By The Law of Nature," but only by faith in Christ. The training he had received from his Huguenot parents and his intense studies at Oxford gave him from the outset a profound knowledge of the Bible and a strongly Calvinistic theology. While assistant morning preacher at St. George's, Hanover Square, he attracted the attention of Lady Huntington. After he had been dismissed from that post because the parishioners found their pews too crowded by the strangers who flocked to hear him, and after the persecutions of the church-wardens forced him out of St. Dunstan's, she made him her second chaplain. For some time he worked in her chapels until, largely

⁷*Op. Cit.*, IV., 399.

through her help, he was chosen rector of St. Anne's Blackfriars. From that time he ceased itinerating, and when she took her following out of the Church of England he severed all connection with the movement.

Hervey was another contemporary of Wesley's at Oxford, and was undoubtedly influenced by him. But this was before the change occurred in Wesley and therefore was not decisive for Hervey's later Evangelicalism. Apparently, what started him on his path was the example and influence of a very devout father, and the experience, mentioned above, of realizing that his failure to fulfil the two great commandments prevented him from earning salvation and made him entirely dependent on the mercy of Christ.

It is more difficult to estimate Venn's debt. He came of a staunch high-church family and began his ministry in that tradition. While curate at Clapham, Lady Huntington and John Thornton took him to task for his sermons, saying that they were but law and ethics with none of the Gospel. Undoubtedly their criticisms made him rethink his message, though there is no telling which of the two had the greater influence in this regard. For some time he was one of Lady Huntington's chaplains; when he went to Huddersfield he continued to preach occasionally in her chapels, not breaking decisively from her till she seceded from the Church. I suspect that his debt to her and her chaplains, especially Whitefield, is greater than that which any other Awakener owed to any of the Wesley-Whitefield workers.

The story of the other Awakeners is essentially the same as that of these six typical leaders. So we may say that, as a group, they were converted, and developed their distinctive message and methods independently of the Wesleys and Whitefield; they discovered, or were discovered by, the latter and worked in close harmony with them for a time; they split from them definitely and permanently when the latter left the Church of England.

Overton and more recently Smyth⁸ argue that the main distinction between the Anglican Evangelicals and the Wesleyan-Whitefield Movements was their respective attitudes toward itineracy. I am constrained to differ. The attitude of the Anglican Evangelicals on that point seems to me to have depended partly on the health and temperament of the individual men, partly on the size of their parishes. A more fundamental difference was their attitude toward the Church of England and toward schism, though in most cases this attitude was probably a subconscious one rather than the result of deliberate analysis. The Wesleys undoubtedly loved the Church, and always regarded themselves as devoted Anglican ministers. But it appears that they despaired of its

⁸Smyth: *Simeon and Church Order*. Cambridge, 1940.

ever being able to save England. So they permitted themselves to be forced into non-conformity. The Anglican Evangelicals regarded the Church as the divinely appointed means for the salvation of England, which God would make adequate for its mission; and they looked upon schism as sinful.⁹ Therefore they must remain within the Church and bear their witness to it, even though they were unheeded, went unbeneficed for years and were treated with contumely or worse. To leave it for non-conformity, to allow themselves to be betrayed into any acts which might result in their exclusion from it, would be to disobey God's will.

II. THE PASTORS AND ORGANIZERS

The second stage, that of the Pastors and Organizers, saw the Anglican Evangelical Movement at its best. The chief figures were men like John Newton (1725-1807); Thomas Scott (1746-1821); Richard Cecil (1748-1810); Charles Simeon (1759-1836); the Milner brothers; the "Clapham Sect," etc.¹⁰ It is worth examining their characteristic patterns of thought, their characteristic activities, the reasons for their influence, their numbers, the shift from the Evangelical revival to the Evangelical party.

1. During this period the major elements of Evangelical thought were the same as those of the earlier period, but there were important differences of emphasis.¹¹ Since the Evangelicals were not primarily theologians but pastors and evangelists, these differences were due to the needs of the people whom they were addressing.

One sees the difference in emphasis if one compares the writings of Romaine¹² with those of Scott¹³ and Simeon.¹⁴ The latter was for fifty-three years vicar of Holy Trinity Church, Cambridge, to my mind

⁹Pratt (ed.): *Ecclectic Notes*. (London, 1845) p. 3-6. Though this discussion occurred among second generation Evangelicals, in 1798, it reveals the attitude of the earlier ones also.

¹⁰For accounts of these men and their co-workers, the reader is referred to the standard works mentioned above, and to various biographical sketches such as:—Seeley, *The Later Evangelical Fathers*; Carus, *Simeon* (New York, 1847); Moule, *Charles Simeon*, (London, 1914); Wilberforce, *The Life of William Wilberforce* (London, 1838); Wilberforce, *A Practical View* (New York, 1829); Cecil, *Memoir of John Newton*, *Memoir of W. B. Cadigan*, *Memoir of John Bacon*, in his *Complete Works* (London, 1827); Pratt, *Memoir of Cecil* (prefixed to Cecil's *Complete Works*), etc.

¹¹Pratt (ed.): *Ecclectic Notes, or Notes of Discussions on Religious Topics at the Meetings of the Ecclectic Society, London, during the years 1798-1814*. (London, 1845.) *passim*.

¹²Romaine: *Whole Works* (London, 1837).

¹³Scott: *Theological Works*, 3 vols. Philadelphia, 1910: *Family Bible*, 6 vols. (Boston, 1844.)

¹⁴Simeon: *Horae Homiletical*. (21 vols. London, 1848.)

the most important single individual of the whole movement.¹⁵ The main aim of both Scott and Simeon, like Romaine, was to derive all their views from the Bible. Supreme stress on the Bible was a major characteristic of all Evangelicals. But unlike his predecessors, Simeon admitted that men could learn of God, to a limited degree, from other sources. Again, his biblicism caused him to inveigh equally against the Socinians, who minimized man's sin and his need for a divinely wrought atonement, and the antinomians, who held that if a man had faith his works were of negligible moment. Great stress on the duty of personal holiness as well as faith was another hall-mark of Evangelicalism. But it had not previously been necessary to attack a-moralism, nor to insist that original sin had not destroyed the freedom of the will; and that consequently men were responsible for their acts whether or not they responded to grace. Another result of his biblicism was his refusal to take part in the Calvinist-Arminian controversy, because both sides seemed to him to stress those parts only of Scriptural teaching that agreed with their views. This led him on to an insistence that the truth is not to be found in the logical conclusions of any one point of view but in the interaction between two positions which are logically irreconcilable yet which are both true. He might be called a forerunner of the dialectical school of theology.

In Scott and Simeon there is more stress proportionately on the love of God and less on His severity than in Romaine, for they had parishioners who had been aroused to a sense of sin and needed to be assured of His forgiveness. There is more effort to give detailed ethical guidance, especially in the case of Scott who tried to deal with some of the social and political questions posed by the French Revolution. There was a less rigid attitude toward "the world." Furthermore, both men had to deal with certain theological questions not forced upon their predecessors, notably the question whether all parts of the Bible were equally inspired and binding, the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, and the doctrines of the Church, ministry and sacraments. This last question, as well as that of the liturgy, was forced especially on Simeon, because many awakened people were inclined to leave the established Church for Wesleyanism. He stressed the Church so much as to incur the odium of some who said "Mr. Simeon is not a Gospelman but a Church-man." His advocacy of the Establishment rested on its liturgy; its more frequent celebration of, and better form for, the Holy Communion; the episcopacy which made for the good of the

¹⁵For the substantiation of this view, as well as for more detailed discussion of his works and his views, I may be allowed to refer to my article "Charles Simeon" in *Church History*, Vol. IX, No. 2, pp. 103-119.

Church more than any other polity; the fact that its worship, usages and doctrines, as set forth in the Prayer Book and the Articles, were agreeable to Scripture and gave more assurance of stability in the faith than could be had by churches without those safeguards; the fact that, being the established Church, it had more chance of affecting England than did dissenting bodies. Ministers were not only leaders of the people God-ward but ambassadors conveying a message from God, and agents through whom God conveyed blessings to his people. Baptism gave a person the title to a new relationship to God, which subsequently must be appropriated by faith. The Holy Communion was not only a memorial of the crucifixion and an offering of self to God, it was also a means of communion with the indubitably present Lord. The liturgy was the most perfect form for the worship of God yet devised.

2. The Evangelicals of this period were marked not only by their theology, but also by their activities. Missionary work and philanthropy seemed to them inseparable from Christian discipleship. And it seemed to them a corollary that Christian loyalty required the development of the most perfect possible organizations, so that their efforts might be more effective. The most important of their organizations was the Church Missionary Society, founded in 1799, of which the great hero was Henry Martyn, at first Simeon's curate and later a missionary to India and Persia. This became the largest missionary society in the world. Others were the London Jews' Society, for the conversion of the Jews; the Colonial and Continental Chaplains' Society, to provide chaplains for English groups living outside England; the Church Pastoral Aid Society, to provide curates for great parishes in neighborhoods that could not support a curate. A large number of very able and wealthy men and women financed and directed these organizations, on the boards of most of which Simeon sat. In addition, they made possible such work as that of Hannah More in the Mendip Hills. When she began, there was not a school or a church in the whole area, and the only Bible she could find was one being used to support a flower-pot; through her work the religion, morals, manners, education, and economic conditions of the area were changed.

They supported the Tract Society to provide cheap and edifying literature for people who could afford only the "penny dreadfuls"; the Prayer Book Society to distribute prayer books; and the Bible Society to give copies of the Scriptures to those in England who could not buy them, and to translate the Bible into other languages and distribute it throughout the world.

Besides the highly organized work of these great societies, there were activities characteristic of Evangelical families and parishes:—family prayers, which had been very uncommon in Anglicanism for many years; personal evangelism, (the journals of Wilberforce and others show how carefully they planned their efforts to convert “worldly” friends); “Ragged Schools” for underprivileged children, and Sunday Schools; meetings of small groups for Bible study and prayer; evening lectures on the Bible with extempore prayers; the use of hymns, a development of the Church of England for which they were responsible, and singing the canticles and psalms, a practice which previously had been confined very largely to cathedrals and college chapels, and evening communion services for the benefit of people who could not attend in the morning.

3. During the latter part of the 18th and the early part of the 19th centuries the Evangelical movement was the most vital spiritual force in the Church of England. The reasons are not far to seek.

They met obvious religious needs of the times. To the despondent, like the semi-enslaved miners and industrial workers, they brought hope, friendship and a sense of worth. They told them that God would forgive and receive them and give them eternal life; they united them in small groups; they proclaimed the essential equality of all men in their common sin and common dependence upon God, and their value as the objects of God's love. To the adventurous spirits who thought the conventionalities and formal moralism of the 18th century intolerable and who could find an outlet only in drink, gambling and licentiousness, they brought release by breaking through the boredom of conventional life and leading into stern adventure for God. To the morally defeated they brought the power of conversion and love. To all converts they brought a task worth doing, God's task of evangelizing the world. The indifferent, the complacent, the hardened, they arrested and brought to repentance and renewal by proclaiming God's judgment and Christ's death for sinners. Hope, fellowship, release, power, repentance and renewal: these they brought to people with unequalled urgency. God and the things of God occupied their whole attention. Such passion was contagious then as always.

The Evangelicals brought people back to the Bible, and showed that the power of Holy Writ to penetrate the hearts and consciences of men was as strong as ever. As people pondered its pages the Holy Spirit was released in them. Poverty-stricken folk whose whole outlook on life was changed, acquired new qualities of industry, sobriety, thrift, cleanliness, and these in turn bought improvement in economic and living conditions. The underprivileged were provided

with educational opportunities not previously available, and with various agencies for helping each other, such as loan societies. Rich people who were converted acquired a sense of stewardship and of responsibility for relieving the needs of others.

Much of the power of the Evangelicals was due to the moral witness of their lives. Clergymen set a new standard of priestly and episcopal diligence; clergy and laity alike, were notable for austere holiness and service. They met suffering and death triumphantly.

The Evangelicals displayed unrivalled ingenuity in methods, adapting their procedure to the people, not fearing to be thought unconventional or even slightly mad. They went out into the highways and byways where people were instead of waiting for the people to come to them. They used the popular press to the full, as had not been done previously. They translated their faith into language ordinary folk could understand, the language of extempore prayers and of hymns which the people could sing. They were expert organizers and administrators, and made a given amount of man-power or financial resources go an extra distance.

The Evangelicals so mobilized the abilities of their laity that their full power was thrown unitedly into the struggle for the soul of England. I doubt if any movement in the history of English Christianity has had so much and so able lay leadership, so much lay evangelism, so much lay spiritual power. Some of the leading clergymen were converted by laymen. Laymen won people whom the clergy could not touch and proclaimed the sovereignty of Christ in Parliament, in business companies, in the military and naval services. The laity made their homes religious, and centers whence Christian influence spread. Laymen and women did much of the writing—people like Cowper, Wilberforce, Hannah More. Folk who paid no heed to what clergymen wrote and said felt obliged to give careful thought to what was advocated by Wilberforce. Some of the most influential were members of the parish at Clapham, a London suburb, whose activities were so great that they were nicknamed "The Clapham Sect." These men and others devoted their time, their energy, their talents, the influence of their positions, to the effort to make Christ known, trusted and obeyed in England and throughout the world. In many Evangelical parishes men of less fame and power devoted themselves to the same cause with equal ardour.

4. During the latter part of Simeon's career the Evangelical party reached its maturity. Its position was clear and generally known. In collaboration with non-conformist Evangelicals it had turned the tide from latitudinarianism to a truer faith and had begun the reconversion

of England. Its great moral, missionary and philanthropic work was under way; its efforts against drunkenness and licentiousness had borne fruit; its campaign against the slave-trade was on the point of being crowned with success, and the famous struggle for the Factory Acts, led by Lord Shaftesbury, one of the younger members, was about to begin; the movement for popular education was awakening the consciences of the authorities. Milner, president of Queen's College, and Simeon had given the Evangelicals an educational center in Cambridge. Its adherents had won recognition and preferment: Milner was appointed dean of Carlisle in 1791, the first Evangelical to be appointed to any prominent post in the Establishment; Charles Sumner was made bishop of Winchester in 1827 and his brother John Bird Sumner, bishop of Chester in 1828. Quite a number of parishes had become definitely Evangelical.

One of the most difficult problems is to estimate the size of the Evangelical party. Gladstone estimated that about 1825 their adherents numbered between five and twelve per cent of the clergy. Overton holds them to have been a minority in numbers among the laity, a minority in important positions among the clergy, but easily the strongest influence. In the absence of any exact figures one can safely state no more than the following: they were definitely a minority group in the Church, but they exercised an influence out of all proportion to their numbers.

5. It was during this second period that the Evangelical revival inside the Church of England became the Evangelical party. It is impossible to date this change with precision. As convenient a date to fix as any is the formation in 1785 of the Ecclectic Society in London by evangelically minded clergy and laity of the metropolitan area. For this marked the beginning of formal consultation looking not only to the clarification of views but also to joint action; out of its deliberations came many of the most distinctive Evangelical institutions, as for example the Church Missionary Society; out of it came also several schemes for training properly qualified but indigent students for the ministry; out of it grew similar associations of Anglican Evangelicals in other parts of England. And I suspect, though I cannot prove, that the Ecclectic Society furnished powerful leadership in keeping the Evangelicals within the Church of England when the Wesleys and the Lady Huntington Connexion withdrew.

III. THE ECCLESIASTICAL CONTROVERSIALISTS

For the purposes of this essay the third and fourth phases of the Evangelical movement in the Church of England can be treated briefly, since with the early part of the 19th century our interest shifts to the movement in America.

The third phase of the movement in England was marked by its controversies with the Catholic movement, which began in 1833 when the first of the *Tracts for the Times* was published, and with the efforts to incorporate into theology some results of the new biblical and historical criticism, the comparative study of religion and the natural sciences.

1. The Evangelicals took issue with the Tractarians from the very start. The reasons for the opposition will be brought out when we turn to the American scene. The points over which the struggle occurred were doctrinal and ceremonial. In 1845 the bishop of Exeter, of all the bishops the one most sympathetic with the Tractarians, refused to institute the Rev. G. C. Gorham on the ground that, having denied baptismal regeneration, he held heretical opinions. The Evangelicals rallied to his defense, attacking not only the bishop's actions but also his doctrine. The case was carried on successive appeals to the highest court, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which decided in 1850 that Mr. Gorham's language was not incompatible with the formularies of the Church of England. After this decision some of the Evangelicals tried to ban the doctrine of the real presence, which they identified with transubstantiation. Several high churchmen were charged with heresy, the most notable cases being those of Archdeacon Denison and the Rev. W. Bennett. In 1872 the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council decided that the real presence could lawfully be held and taught in the Church, provided that a spiritual meaning was given to the word "real."

By the year 1870 the question of ceremonial came to the fore when a number of high churchmen began to speak of the Holy Communion as the Mass and to use incense and ornate vestments. A group of the more extreme protestants formed the Churchman's Association, and prosecuted a number of high church clergymen for violating the discipline and worship of the Church. Some half-dozen of the latter were found guilty and imprisoned for brief terms. The most important trials were the Purchas case (1871), the Ridsdale case (1877), and the case of Bishop King of Lincoln (1892). In the rendering of these three decisions the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council gradually relaxed the stringency of its earlier opinions and legalized most of the vestments and some of the practices previously prohibited.

One effect of this long controversy was that the Evangelical party became allied with the low church party and as Dr. Brilioth observed, "Like most unions which are the product of fear it was not a happy union."¹⁶ In its first two stages the Evangelicals had not been identified with the low church group; the latitudinarians had occupied that position, against whom the Evangelicals had protested that they were Socinians. Another effect was that some Evangelicals who accepted the doctrines of apostolic succession and the real presence, joined other parties. Some associated themselves with the Tractarians, as, for instance, Mr. Gladstone; some even became Roman Catholics, such as the Rev. F. W. Faber; others refused to join any party, maintaining the older Evangelical teachings in combination with some of the high church emphasis. The most important of these was Samuel Wilberforce, bishop successively of Oxford and Winchester, and son of William Wilberforce, the great Evangelical layman who secured the abolition of slavery in the British Empire. A third result was that at a time when people were beginning to use the arts in the service of religion, the opposition of Evangelicals seemed to brand them as extremely narrow.

2. Before the Tractarian movement began, a group of men centered around Oriel College, Oxford, were trying to incorporate into theology some of the findings of scientists in various fields, as well as to bring the Church into closer relation with the new problems of society raised by the industrial revolution. The Evangelicals fought these attempts as hard as they fought the Tractarian movement, and were joined in their opposition by some Tractarian leaders. In 1860 a volume was published called *Essays and Reviews*. Two of the essayists were immediately prosecuted for heresy because of the views they expressed on the inspiration of Scripture, on justification and on eternal punishment. Evangelicals became increasingly identified with what has since been termed fundamentalism. One result of this was that the party seemed obscurantist and consequently some of its younger members associated themselves with the broad churchmen.

During the nineteenth century various English Christians, of whom the leader was F. D. Maurice, became convinced that Christianity had a message to society as well as to individuals, and that the social, economic and political structure had to be altered so as to provide a more just distribution of the profits of industry, to alleviate the lot of the workers, "to make them feel and enable them to live like free men." Though Lord Shaftesbury did more for the underprivileged than any one

¹⁶Brilioth: *Evangelicalism and the Oxford Movement*. London, 1934, p. 30.

individual, very few, if any, Evangelical leaders took part in this Christian socialist movement. Some opposed it bitterly. As a whole they were identified with conservative views, though not necessarily the Conservative party. This caused some of its more ardent spirits to identify themselves with Maurice's following.

3. Thus it came about that the Evangelicals were branded as being opposed to the arts, as obscurantists intellectually, stand-patters in economics and politics, dour and harsh socially. Not unnaturally this caused them to lose their hold on the younger generations, and the movement "bogged down." In saying this, however, one must recall that the Church Missionary Society continued to be the most important missionary agency of the Church, that many parishes continued to function very effectively along the lines of the earlier Evangelicals, and that, in collaboration with non-conformists, the Evangelicals began the work of the Student Movement. It must also be emphasized that despite later weaknesses the influence of the Evangelicals reached far beyond the confines of the party. The saying of Newman is well-known: "I owe my soul, humanly speaking, to Scott the Commentator." There were many who, like Newman, became ardent disciples of the Lord under Evangelical guidance but grew dissatisfied with some of its features and found more satisfactory expression for their faith and zeal in other groups. I would venture the suggestion that the Evangelical revival released into the Church of England a fresh outburst of religion which resembled that of the primitive Church more closely than anything else, and that in this fact is to be found its great significance. At first this new religious vitality was canalized into the Evangelical party. Later, while some of it continued to express itself through that same channel, a large part of it found the Evangelical dykes too confining in one direction or another and flowed over into the Tractarian stream, with its stress on the sacramental aspect of the Church's teaching and on the place of beauty in worship; and into the liberal stream with its search for an adequate Christian philosophy and for more effectively Christian social and political views.

IV. REORIENTATION

The fourth phase of the Evangelical movement in the Church of England can be summed up even more briefly. About 1900 a group of younger Evangelical leaders, who had been influenced by other movements but felt their limitations too keenly to join them, began the attempt to reorient the Evangelical party so as to appropriate the values of the high churchmen, the liberals and the Christian socialists. After the

first World War, under the leadership of Dr. Theodore Woods, bishop of Winchester, and others they formed the Anglican Evangelical Group Movement with the following basis:

"We confidently assert our continuity with the Evangelical tradition of the past, among the treasured principles of which we would emphasize the following: The Eternal Good Tidings of the intimate and immediate relationship of the believer to God through the redemption of the Lord Jesus Christ and the power of the Holy Spirit; the unique authority of the Bible; the high value of the Sacraments, spiritually interpreted; the passion to win the individual souls for Christ, whether in the parishes at home or the mission-field abroad."

It is still too early to say what the outcome of this phase of the movement will be.

V. EARLY AMERICAN EVANGELICALS

In the eighteenth century the Anglican Church in the American colonies had some clergy of high character and intellect, men who were good preachers and faithful pastors. In many of its parishes the vestries showed deep concern for the unfortunates within their borders. But a number of circumstances worked strongly against any high spiritual level in the Church as a whole.

1. The pioneer Anglican Evangelical in America was Devereux Jarratt (1732-1801), for thirty-eight years minister of Bath Parish, Dinwiddie County, Virginia.¹⁷ Brought up without any religious training at all, he became a strong Calvinist and a devoted Anglican. Under his severe preaching a revival broke out in his parish and parts adjacent, which he nurtured by group meetings similar to those in England. He cooperated with the earliest Methodist preachers and at times celebrated the Lord's Supper for them. Various factors combined to end this revival. Jarratt incurred the antagonism of Baptists and Methodists by his vigorous disapproval of non-episcopal ordinations, and those groups drew away from him some of his converts. Most Churchmen looked askance at him. The Revolution and the events following it were a terrible blow to all organized religion and distracted men's minds from any attention to the Gospel. But he had planted seeds which later were brought to fruition.

His doctrines were essentially those of the English Calvinists and need not be developed. But part of a letter to a friend who had left

¹⁷The main source for his career is his *Autobiography* (Baltimore, 1806); *cp.* also, E. C. Chorley, *Devereux Jarratt*, *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH*, Vol. V., No. 1, pp. 47-64.

Anglicanism for Presbyterianism must be quoted because it illustrates the attitude toward the Church which was such a conspicuous feature of his successors.

"I dearly love the Church. I love her on many accounts—particularly the three following. I love her because her mode of worship is so beautiful and so decent, so well calculated to inspire devotion, and so complete in all parts of public worship. I love her because of the soundness of her doctrines, creeds, articles, etc. I love her because all her officers and the mode of ordaining them, are, if I mistake not, truly primitive and apostolic . . . These three particulars, a regular clergy, sound doctrine and a decent, comprehensive worship, contain the essentials, I think, of a Christian Church. As these are still in the possession of the old Church, I have been, and still am, inclined to give her the preference."¹⁸

But Evangelicalism did not become a powerful factor in the Episcopal Church for more than a quarter-century after Jarratt's death. Under Bishop Griswold (1766-1843) it became effective in New England; under Bishops Moore (1762-1841) and Meade (1789-1862) in Virginia; under Bishops Chase (1775-1852) and McIlvaine (1799-1873) in Ohio; under Bishop Alonzo Potter (1800-1865) in Pennsylvania; under other men it spread to other parts of the country. Our main questions are three:—What manner of men were they? How did they go about their work and what influence did they exert? What distinguished them from other groups within the Church? We can best answer these questions by examining two first-generation and two second-generation leaders.

2. Beginning his ministry in Litchfield, Connecticut, where he supplemented a meagre salary by working as a farm hand in summer and a teacher in winter, Alexander Viets Griswold¹⁹ moved to Bristol, Rhode Island, in 1804. He was consecrated bishop of the Eastern Diocese in 1811, but since the diocese could not support him he continued as rector of St. Michael's Church, Bristol, till 1829, when he resigned that parish to become rector of St. Peter's Church, Salem, Massachusetts. From 1834 he devoted himself exclusively to his episcopal duties.

The Eastern Diocese was a federation of four dioceses, Rhode

¹⁸*Autobiography*, pp. 152-3.

¹⁹On Griswold see: Stone, *Memoir of Rt. Rev. Alexander Viets Griswold*, Philadelphia, 1844; Manross, *Bishop Griswold and the Eastern Diocese*: article in the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH* Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 13-25; *Journals of the Eastern Diocese*; his own works, especially *Discourses on the Most Important Doctrines and Duties of the Christian Religion*, Philadelphia, 1839.

Island, Massachusetts (which at that time included Maine), Vermont and New Hampshire. Throughout his entire episcopate Griswold was the chief evangelist of this territory, preaching wherever he could, forming missions and urging his clergy to begin new stations, supporting the Sunday School movement, stressing the fact at every opportunity that the Church's primary task was the missionary one. The bishop was so earnest, faithful, wise and lowly, that in a few years his coming was a time of special interest to almost the whole community. An old Congregationalist expressed the feeling: "He is the best representative of an apostle I have ever seen, particularly because he does not know it."²⁰ As a result of his labors the Eastern Diocese had increased in strength sufficient to be divided into five at his death. In place of the fifteen clergy and twenty-two churches with which he began his episcopate, there were about 100 clergy and 87 churches. He confirmed upwards of 11,000 people.

A more strongly marked type of Anglican Evangelicalism was developed in Virginia under the leadership of Richard Channing Moore and William Meade.

When Moore was elected bishop in 1814 the Church in Virginia was in deplorable condition. During and just after the Revolution between a half and three-quarters of all the clergy had left their cures. The loss of taxes and glebe lands threw the Church's economic basis into unspeakable confusion. Out of approximately 250 churches and chapels owned by the Episcopal Church in 1776, about 35 were in use in 1814. In the period 1799-1812 only three times was a convention held. Bishop Madison's time and energy were consumed by his work as president of William and Mary College. Of these years Dr. Brydon writes:

"It was a period of utter and absolute hopelessness . . . In most of the parishes the parochial organization had ceased and the church buildings stood abandoned, a prey of any marauder."

Into the parishes that continued to function came "unworthy ministers who contributed a moral wreckage to the breakdown of organization."²¹ The Church had so far lost its position that when William Meade was ordained deacon in 1811 his friends thought it a sign of mental aberration.

Bishop Moore's greatest work was done by his preaching. By nature he was endowed with a splendid voice, an impressive presence

²⁰A. H. Bailey in A. A. Benton's *Church Cyclopaedia*, p. 763, Philadelphia, 1884.

²¹G. MacLaren Brydon, "Early Days of the Diocese of Virginia," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH*, Vol. IV., No. 1, p. 41.

and a good mind; to these were added a sound education, a conversion which in dramatic quality and lasting effect was much like St. Paul's, an overwhelming desire to win people to Christ's discipleship. Like all Evangelicals the starting-point of his preaching was the hopeless condition of sinful man, the atonement, and justification by faith only. The distinctive thing about him was the degree of emphasis he laid upon God's love. Gratitude and joy and love were the driving forces in his life and they came out in all his sermons. Beside preaching effectively throughout the state, Bishop Moore organized "associations"—meetings of clergy and laity from a given area for intimate Bible study and prayer. The influence of these gatherings was immense. Furthermore, he made the annual diocesan conventions into agencies for religious quickening, subordinating the business sessions to services, Bible lectures and prayer-meetings. These conventions usually lasted a week and people came from all over the state to attend them.²²

3. The Evangelicalism of Griswold and Moore differed from the high church position more in practice and emphasis than in doctrine. They regarded the episcopacy as divinely instituted and necessary for the perfection of the Church; they thought the sacraments were means of grace rather than signs of grace already bestowed; they insisted that at stated services the rubrics of the Prayer Book be strictly obeyed. But they believed that the fundamental teachings of the Gospel should be given the first place in preaching rather than the peculiar customs and doctrines of the Episcopal Church; they believed that preaching was the primary means by which men were won to Christ and built up in the faith. They supported the interdenominational Bible Society from which high churchmen abstained and they participated in interdenominational services, for they thought the Holy Spirit worked through these agencies. They feared too much stress on episcopacy and sacraments lest people should depend upon them for salvation instead of on Christ's cross alone; they opposed anything that seemed to place the Fathers and early councils on a parity with the Bible, for to their minds the Bible was the *sole* foundation and rule of faith; they feared overemphasis on Church membership lest the need for conversion and renewal of character be lost to sight; they opposed the Oxford Movement, thinking it would lead people away from reliance on the atonement, from proper love of the Prayer Book and from acceptance of the Thirty-nine Articles.

²²The main sources for Moore are: Henshaw, *Memorial of Bishop Moore*, (Philadelphia, 1843); his published sermons; the *Journals of the Diocese of Virginia*.

VI. TWO SECOND GENERATION EVANGELICAL LEADERS

Despite their evangelistic activities, Bishops Meade and McIlvaine are of importance to us chiefly as illustrating how second generation Evangelicals organized the resources of awakened people for more effective service, related their faith to the problems of their day and contended for it against what they regarded as movements subversive of true Christianity.

1. A native of the Shenandoah Valley, Meade began his ministry in that part of Virginia, and by taking for two years charge of Christ Church, Alexandria. To meet the accusation that the Church had only "an hireling ministry," he supported himself and his family by farming. Having lost by a single vote the election as bishop-coadjutor of Pennsylvania, he was soon after (1829) elected to the same post in Virginia, and on Bishop Moore's death in 1841 became diocesan. He died in 1862, being at the time senior bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America.²³

Bishop Meade was renowned equally for the force of his character, the austerity of his life, his strictness as a disciplinarian, the simplicity and urgency of his sermons, and his uncompromising championship of Evangelicalism against the high church position. His books were widely read:—*Lectures on the Pastoral Office* (New York, 1849); *The Bible and the Classics* (New York, 1861); *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia* (Philadelphia, 1857); and several volumes of sermons. Intensely missionary-minded, during most of his service as coadjutor he spent eight months annually itinerating around the state, preaching at least once every day. He reopened closed churches, founded new ones and raised funds for their support, impressing on laity and clergy alike their duty of witnessing to their faith by word as well as deed. The cause of foreign missions received his unqualified assistance. He recruited men for the ministry and by his oversight of the Virginia Seminary made sure of the training they were receiving. Part of each year he spent in residence there, instilling his own convictions into the students, lecturing on pastoral care and preaching.

Between 1829, when Meade became bishop coadjutor, and the outbreak of the Civil War the number of clergy increased from 48, of whom at least two were not parish ministers, to 106 and possibly 109; the number of communicants, from approximately 2,275 to 7,487.²⁴ Of far more importance than the increase of numbers and material resources

²³The bibliography on Bishop Meade is extensive. The chief works are his own books; Johns, *Memoir*, (Baltimore, 1867); Slaughter, *Memoir*, (Cambridge, 1885); the *Journals of the Diocese of Virginia*.

²⁴*Journals of the Diocese of Virginia* of 1828 and 1829, and 1859.

was the complete alteration in spirit. Gone was the pessimism of Bishop Madison's day. Gone also was the widespread semi-deism. The Evangelical faith was held with a firmness indicated by missionary support, moral vigor, philanthropy, the common practice of family prayers, the study of the Bible, devotion to the Church and her ways.

Meade's theology was akin to that of all Evangelicals in its stress on man's hopeless condition, the salvation offered in Christ, the sanctifying and guiding power of the Holy Spirit, the Bible as the sole foundation and rule of faith.²⁵ But he laid much more emphasis on the wrath of God than did Bishop Moore, and also he was compelled to define his position on the Church more fully because of the growth of the Tractarian movement. If Moore differed from the high churchmen chiefly in matters of emphasis and practice, Meade opposed them strongly because of these doctrines. He disbelieved the doctrine of apostolic succession on the two grounds that it was unproven and that it was contrary to the teaching of the Church of England. He refused to deny the validity of non-episcopal orders, holding to the episcopate as of very ancient origin and as the mode of government in the Anglican Church but not as essential to the being of the church. He repudiated the doctrines of transubstantiation and of the sacrifice of the mass as unscriptural and untrue. On the positive side he insisted that membership in the Church was both a privilege and an obligation laid down by Christ. The Church was composed of "the great body of those who profess and call themselves Christians and who hold the substance of the truth as it is in Jesus." Its chief function was to teach the Bible, to witness to the Christ, to engage in works of mercy. Its sacraments were of great help to the believer. But though Church and sacraments were essential, they were secondary, for they were both means, not ends. The great heresy was "that of the Jews, namely raising means to the primary place; and for Christians, that means putting the feeding on Christ in the Sacrament above, or even on an equal plane with, the true feeding upon Christ which is done by faith only, or reckoning that membership in the Apostolic Church and devout obedience to its discipline can win salvation of water."²⁶

Closely akin to his theological work was Meade's effort as an apologist. Throughout most of his career the Christian faith was under attack from the advanced culture of his day. People were beginning to study other religions, and in some quarters the claim was being advanced that they were "as good as Christianity." Meade opposed this

²⁵Next to the Bible he valued the Prayer Book, the Thirty-nine Articles, and Hooker's *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*.

²⁶Quoted from a sermon by Dr. Sparrow in which he summarized the bishop's teaching.

tendency in his book, *The Bible and the Classics*, in which he dealt with primitive religions, those of Greece and Rome, Hinduism, Buddhism and Mohammedanism.²⁷

But beside being a great evangelist and an able theological controversialist, Bishop Meade was of far-reaching importance as an interpreter of Christian ethics.

To be a Christian meant to live above the current standards. Only as its members did that could the Church exercise a purifying influence upon the community. Therefore, as an antidote to current laxity, he urged his communicants to break from the four activities that symbolized the spirit of contemporary society,—card-playing, horse-racing, dancing and drinking. His force of character and his prestige were such that many of them observed his admonitions.²⁸ Christian morality involved also the effort to discover what was the right Christian attitude toward the great political and social questions that vexed society, and then to translate the convictions thus reached into effective action.

The first of these questions was slavery. On this issue, Meade reached three conclusions: First, that the Church was under precisely the same responsibility for the conversion and nurture of the negroes as of the whites; for Christ had died for *all* men. Consequently he spent much of his time ministering to colored people and constantly urged that duty upon his diocese. Second, that while it was not a sin to own slaves under existing circumstances, yet slavery was indefensible from the humanitarian standpoint and also was ruinous to the agriculture of the South, especially of Virginia, and to the whole civilization based on agriculture. Early in his career he freed his own slaves, and tried to persuade others to do likewise. But later he came to think that this was a mistaken kindness. For emancipation alone seemed useless: a slave was often worse off after obtaining freedom than he had been before. Third, that it was necessary to find some place where freed slaves could form a community of their own. Therefore, he took an active part in forming

²⁷Though the manifold duties of his office left him no time for original research, the book shows that he read industriously the best secondary material available. His thesis was that these other religions showed man striving valiantly, and with partial success, toward God whilst Christianity was God's revelation to man of His nature and will; that the other religions represented man's efforts to achieve salvation by his own efforts, whilst Christianity proclaimed God's act which made available to man the salvation which otherwise would be forever unattainable. In his concern over the relation of Christianity to contemporary culture Meade, like McIlvaine, displayed a breadth of philosophical interest and an alertness to the intellectual movements of the day greater than that of most of his Evangelical contemporaries.

²⁸But though he was puritanical in his views and very strict in enforcing the discipline of the Church, he was careful not to go beyond what was plainly to be deduced from its formulæ and laws, not permitting his private views to govern his official acts.

the American Colonization Society which bought a large tract in Africa (the modern Liberia), provided transportation thither to freed men and a small sum with which to get started in their new homes. He toured New England and the South raising funds for the Society, he acted as the Society's agent in buying the freedom of slaves owned by the state of Georgia and conveying them to the port of embarkation.

The other great problem with which Meade had to grapple was war. From the days when hot heads on both sides began to talk with increasing truculence, he used all his influence to prevent war. No one worked harder to prevent Virginia's secession. He thought war was sinful; he had no sympathy with the extreme view of states' rights; he was adamant against fighting to preserve slavery. But when the Union armies entered Virginia, and as a result the state seceded, he felt that the whole situation had changed. For he believed that a state had the right to secede, much though he deplored its doing so; that it was no longer a matter of defending slavery but of resisting armed intervention; and that to defend one's homeland in such a case was one's clear duty. The war was the lesser of two evils. So he urged Virginians to resist; he spent himself trying to get money, food and clothes for the troops; he encouraged Bishop Polk of Louisiana, a West Point graduate, to accept a general's commission in the Confederate Army. Till his death on March 14, 1862, he never wavered in his support of the Confederate efforts. He made every possible exertion to provide chaplains for the army.

It has been argued by several historians that the Evangelical revival in England played an important part in saving that country from the horrors of such a social revolution as occurred in France. It can be maintained with equal force, I think, that the revivals in the Army of Northern Virginia during the winters of '62 and '63, in which many men were led to faith in and dependence upon God, made a vital contribution to the courage and stamina which enabled Southerners to endure the horrors of the reconstruction era and to rebuild their shattered civilization. In this revival clergymen and laymen of many communions played their part, not least Episcopalians. Most of the latter were Evangelicals, many of whom had been profoundly influenced by Bishop Meade in the Virginia Seminary or during their ministry.

After the Southern states had seceded, Meade thought it unthinkable that the Anglican Church in the Southern states should be under the administrative control of a General Convention, the majority of the delegates to which came from a hostile country. So he took the lead in organizing the "Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America" as an autonomous branch of the Anglican Communion,

served as its senior bishop during its preliminary meetings and met his death through overexertion in connection with the consecration of Bishop Wilmer of Alabama.

Partly in order to secure properly trained clergymen to staff the diocese of Virginia, and partly in order to develop a permanent center where the Evangelical position would be maintained and from which it would spread, Meade devoted much care and energy to founding the Theological Seminary at Alexandria, and subsequently to supporting and directing it and teaching in it.²⁹ Beginning in 1823 with one professor and four students, when the War Between the States broke out it had a student body of 73, four full time professors and a number of visiting lecturers. The importance of this institution to the Evangelical cause was great. A competent faculty, of which the ablest theologian was Professor Sparrow, inculcated the faith and spirit of the movement into successive generations of students, who, in turn, carried it to every part of the Union and overseas. Among its graduates of this period were the pioneer foreign missionaries of the Episcopal Church to Greece, Liberia, China and Japan, and others who went to the Western frontiers. In the formation of "The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society" in 1820-21, and in its reorganization in 1835, Evangelicals played a major part and men whom Meade had influenced in Virginia were among its chief supporters in the following years. The missionary concern which has been so marked a characteristic of the English Evangelicals was equally strong among the Americans. The same was true of the stress on constant pastoral work. Nowhere were they more emphasized than at Alexandria.

²⁹W. A. R. Goodwin, *History of the Theological Seminary in Virginia*, 2 Vols., New York, 1923. Though for purposes of condensation the contributions of Bishops Moore and Meade alone are discussed in the text of this essay, historic accuracy demands recognition of the Rev. William H. Wilmer, (1784-1827) whose importance has too long been minimized. His influence in the diocese of Virginia was very great, as president of the standing committee, as a prime mover in the election of Bishop Moore and as one of the most influential men in its annual Council. As president of the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies at five meetings of General Convention he exercised a notable influence in forming the policies of the young Episcopal Church. His *Episcopal Manual* was the chief devotional book of the Evangelicals, going through many editions, and exerted an influence in the Church as a whole which, while it cannot be exactly appraised, was certainly great. He was one of the principal leaders in beginning the Virginia Theological Seminary, the first classes of which met in the parish house of St. Paul's Church, Alexandria, of which he was rector; he also took an indispensable part in founding the Education Society. He taught in the Seminary during its early years, raised a good deal of money for it, and was the first president of the Education Society. Dr. Phillips in his article on Dr. Wilmer in his *History of the Theological Seminary in Virginia* writes, "Many labored in the founding of our Seminary, they labored in thought and with prayer, with body and soul, but the most commanding figure, certainly the hardest worker and the strongest personality in laying the foundation, was the Rev. William Holland Wilmer, D. D." (Volume I, p. 80.)

2. Of equal importance as a protagonist of Anglican Evangelicalism was Meade's younger contemporary and close friend, Bishop Charles P. McIlvaine of Ohio (1799-1873).³⁰ Born in Burlington, New Jersey, educated at Princeton College and Seminary, McIlvaine began his ministry as rector of Christ Church, Georgetown. While there he was for two years chaplain of the United States Senate. For three years he served as chaplain at West Point where he was accused of "trying to turn the Military Academy into a theological school." Then for five years he was rector of St. Anne's, Brooklyn, during which period he also held the chair of apologetics and natural theology at the College of the City of New York. His lectures were published under the title, *The Evidences of Christianity* (New York, 1832), and went into six editions. From 1833 till his death he was bishop of Ohio.

McIlvaine succeeded Philander Chase as bishop of Ohio. The latter had laid the foundations of that diocese and begun its growth along Evangelical lines. McIlvaine consolidated and carried forward this work, travelling constantly around the state, stimulating the existing parishes into greater vitality and founding new ones, organizing and supervising the diocese, helping it to adapt itself to rapidly changing conditions, nurturing Kenyon College and its theological department, Bexley Hall, as centers of Evangelical influence. The results were great. From 40 parishes, mostly weak, the diocese grew under his lead to 116; from 900 communicants to about 15,000; from 17 clergy to 108.

But of more importance for this essay was McIlvaine's position as a champion of Evangelicalism against its two strongest adversaries in the Church, the Tractarian and the rationalist movements. His influence was due to his genuine scholarship, his many publications and his great power as a preacher. On all three counts he was well known abroad as well as at home. Both Cambridge and Oxford conferred doctorates upon him.

In his general theological position, the only significant advance McIlvaine made over his Evangelical predecessors was in laying less exclusive stress on the atonement. Besides preaching much on the

³⁰There is no full biography of Bishop McIlvaine but a number of memorial addresses. The bibliography on him includes the *Journals of the Diocese of Ohio*; Smythe, G. F., *History of the Diocese of Ohio* (Cleveland, 1931), and *Kenyon College* (New Haven, 1924); and McIlvaine's own voluminous publications, especially: *The Preaching of Christ Crucified* (Gambier, 1834); *The Apostolic Commission* (Gambier, 1838); *The Origin and Design of the Christian Ministry* (Gambier, 1839); *Justification by Faith* (Columbus 1840); *Oxford Divinity* (London, 1841); *The Church of Christ* (Philadelphia, 1848); *No Priest, No Sacrifice, No Altar but Christ* (New York, 1850); *The Christian Duty in the Present Crisis* (Cincinnati, 1861); *Rationalism* (Cincinnati, 1865). Also, *Memorials of the late Rt. Rev. Charles Pettit McIlvaine*, edited by Carus (New York, 1882).

incarnation he also urged the importance of the example and teaching of Jesus.³¹

The essence of the Evangelicalism for which McIlvaine contended did not consist in a low view of the Church, stress on experience, or condemnation of ceremonialism; it consisted in unwavering insistence upon the doctrine of justification by faith alone as taught by St. Paul. It was upon this issue that he attacked the Tractarians.

McIlvaine thought that "the Oxford Divinity" blurred the distinction between God's forgiveness of man, which was appropriated by faith and not earned by effort, and the process of sanctification in which man had to cooperate by moral and spiritual discipline. This confusion tended to make men think that their characters deserved God's blessings. Also, he accused Newman of basing justification (i. e., forgiveness) on divine foreknowledge of the human soul's sanctification. These two errors made the Cross of negligible importance. Lastly, he held that linking justification inseparably to baptism, as did the men of Oxford, overthrew justification by faith and was a reassertion of the heresy that men won salvation by performing certain ecclesiastical rites.³²

Both the excitement caused by the Tractarians and the presence of large bodies of non-episcopalians in America compelled McIlvaine to elaborate his views on the Church, the ministry and the sacraments more fully than his Evangelical predecessors had done. The Holy Catholic Church he regarded as the whole company of those united to God and each other by a living faith in Christ. No man could identify its bounds; it was the Church Invisible. But the visible Church was essential both because it was commanded by God and also because apart from it and its ordinances the invisible Church could not long endure. Disagreeing with Meade, he held that in this visible Church the episcopate and the threefold ministry were of apostolic origin. Other orders were certainly irregular; but fortunately the Episcopal Church had never tried to pass on their validity because God alone could tell that. The two sacraments he held to be of divine appointment and means of grace rather than signs of grace already bestowed. In the Holy Communion Christ was as really present as He had been of old in Palestine, but, as then, His presence was effective only to those who had faith.³³

In these ways McIlvaine indicated the position of most Evangelicals in relation to Tractarianism and Protestantism. In addition, as Meade

³¹*Cp. The Preaching of Christ Crucified*, and other sermons.

³²*Righteousness by Faith*, (Philadelphia, 1862), and various sermons. In summarizing McIlvaine's Christology and his attack on the Tractarians, I have been greatly helped by an essay, unfortunately still unpublished, *Three Evangelicals*, by the Rev. J. M. Krumm.

³³*Origin and Design of the Christian Ministry and Memorials*.

had tried to relate it to other religions, so McIlvaine tried to relate it to the rationalist movement of his day. In a treatise published by order of the House of Bishops in 1865 and sent to all clergy and candidates for the ministry,³⁴ he attacked the volume *Essays and Reviews* published by a group of English divines in 1860, accusing the authors of denying that the Bible was inspired in any unique fashion or contained any genuine revelation, and setting forth what he regarded to be the teachings on these matters in the Thirty-nine Articles to which all Anglican clergymen had to subscribe. He did not try to deal with the specific problems which led the essayists to doubt the traditional views, nor did he attempt to formulate a theory of revelation more in accord with the advancing science of biblical criticism, partly, I think, because he did not regard himself as a specialist in biblical scholarship, and partly because the only matter that vitally concerned him was the one which underlay the whole treatise, namely, whether the Bible was really God's self-disclosure.

Christianity was based on certain beliefs about God. These beliefs, McIlvaine was convinced, could neither be proven nor disproven by reason. Though reason could buttress it, the Christian outlook had to be accepted on faith. But on what did faith rest if not on reason? Not on man's intuition, for that was fallible; nor on the Church's authority, for, weighty though that was, the Church had made too many mistakes to be a final authority. Faith in God and in the way of salvation could be secure only if God had revealed Himself and the way. The Bible purported to be such a disclosure and upon it the whole edifice of Christian faith and life was based. Any denial that the Bible was God's self-revelation cut the ground from under Christian faith. Furthermore, to say that the Bible was God's revelation of Himself was to say that men must accept and obey it, not standing in judgment upon it and adhering only to such portions as they liked. Who is to criticize the actions and commands of God? And to say that the Bible was God's revelation was to say also that it was supernaturally inspired as other books were not. To deny its inspiration was to cut the nerve of Christian ethics (obedience to God's revealed will), and to remove all limits from the right of private judgment.

In all his arguments against what he called the "infidelity" of *Essays and Reviews* McIlvaine was consciously trying to make but one point: that for the Christian the final authority in faith and morals is the Bible rather than the Church or private judgment. In this he was an Evangelical to the core, for that was their major premise. He did not want to disparage scholarship or to curtail the right of research but to

³⁴*Rationalism, as exhibited in the writings of certain clergymen of the Church of England.* (Cincinnati, 1865).

clarify the basis of the Christian faith. In doing so he fell back on what was the nearest thing to an Anglican confession of faith, the Thirty-nine Articles. This again was typical of Evangelicals, for all of them laid great store by the Articles. His successors inherited the task he had not undertaken, that of expounding the doctrines of biblical revelation and inspiration in such fashion as to be compatible with the new knowledge about authorship, dates and historical developments gained by specialists in biblical research.

In various writings McIlvaine tried to show a very close connection between the Oxford Movement and the rationalist movement. The Tractarians, he argued, in substituting for the doctrine of justification by faith only a subtle form of the view that men won salvation by their works had set aside the plain teaching of Scripture. If they believed Scripture to be a divine revelation they would never have dared to do this. Hence, their root error was the same as that of *Essays and Reviews*. Furthermore, by introducing all manner of novelties in worship and dogma which thoughtful men could not accept, they had created an atmosphere very conducive to scepticism.

The major ethical problem to which McIlvaine had to relate his faith was war. He was strongly anti-slavery and strongly federalist. Consequently, when President Lincoln sent troops to the South to prevent secession he supported him; and after the Emancipation Proclamation he supported him still more strongly. At the President's request he went to England to present the Union cause and to prevent sympathy for the Confederates assuming practical form. He agreed with Meade that the Civil War was a terrible evil; he also held that it was the lesser of two evils; but he completely disagreed as to which side was right. Believing that the fortunes of nations should not be allowed to break the unity of Christians, he and Meade and Polk prayed for each other daily. Though at the close of the war he thought that the bishops and delegates of the Southern dioceses should not be received into General Convention till they repented of the war³⁵ yet personally he was courteous to them and as soon as Convention decided to permit them to resume their seats without any qualifications, he gladly acquiesced.

³⁵For Bishop McIlvaine and the Civil War, see George F. Smythe, *A History of the Diocese of Ohio*, pp. 313-318. Also, *Journal of General Convention*, 1865, pp. 148, 165, 168-9, 176.

VII. CONCLUSION

The enforced brevity of this sketch has prevented reference to many important figures and events. The most conspicuous omission, in addition to that of Bishop Alonzo Potter,³⁶ is that of Dr. William A. Muhlenberg (1796-1877),³⁷ rector of St. James' Church, Lancaster, Pennsylvania; founder and headmaster of St. Paul's School, Flushing, New York; founder and rector of the Church of the Holy Communion, New York City; founder and superintendent of St. Luke's Hospital, New York; the pioneer in most movements of importance in the last century. Sharing many of the Evangelical views but wanting to incorporate the historical, pragmatic and aesthetic values of the Oxford Movement, passionately anxious for Church unity and desirous that the episcopate be enabled to function as a center of unity, he wrote a series of papers called *Evangelical Catholicism*. His influence on the Evangelicals of his own time was not great, though some of them, like Bishop Alonzo Potter, agreed with him in many respects, but no man embodied the essential elements of their position more attractively.

It should be plain that through McIlvaine's day the American Evangelicals as a whole held the same basic theological position as the English ones; that they manifested a like concern for conversion, personal holiness, spiritual discipline, missionary and philanthropic activity; that they laid the same stress on preaching and on meetings for Bible study and prayer; that they had a comparable gift for adapting new methods when the traditional procedures seemed inadequate; that they tried to relate their faith to the social and cultural problems of the day.

The most conspicuous differences between the American and the English Evangelical movements were two. In the first place, the part played by bishops was quite dissimilar. In England the movement began in local parishes, gradually gained strength, and after three-quarters of a century was recognized by the appointment of adherents to the episcopate. In America its chief early exponents were bishops who nourished it within their dioceses, helped found seminaries to propagate it, and fought for it in the councils of the Church. Secondly, in England the movement had a considerable period of development before it became involved in controversy over churchmanship and, as a result of that

³⁶For a good biography, see W. W. Manross, "A Great Evangelical: Alonzo Potter," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH*, IX., pp. 97-130. Also, M. A. DeW. Howe: *Memoirs of the Life and Services of the Rt. Rev. Alonzo Potter, D. D., LL. D.*, Philadelphia, J. P. Lippincott & Co., 1871.

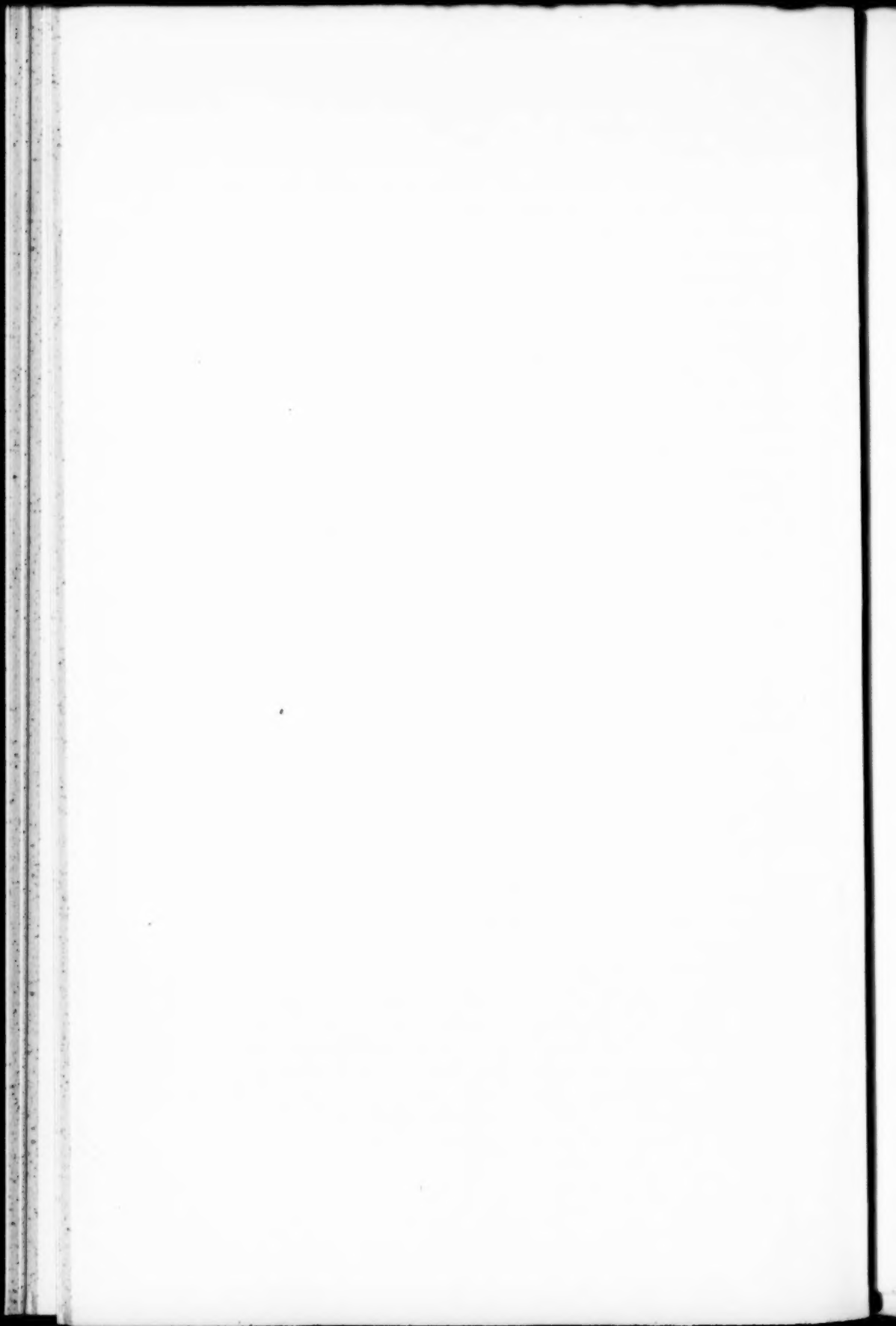
³⁷Anne Ayers, *The Life and Work of William Augustus Muhlenberg*; New York, Harper & Bros., 1880. W. W. Newton, *William Augustus Muhlenberg*; Boston & New York, Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1890. W. A. Muhlenberg, *Evangelical Catholic Papers*, 2 vols.; New York, T. Whittaker, 1875.

controversy, became identified with Protestantism as opposed to Catholicism. The latitudinarians were far more "low church" than the Evangelicals; in the earlier phases of the movement there was no Catholic-Protestant controversy. In America the movement became strong just at the time that Bishop Hobart was reviving a crusading high churchmanship which had marked differences in emphasis and practice from the Evangelicals, and while the movement was still comparatively young Tractarianism came upon the scene. Thus in America Evangelicalism was engaged in vigorous ecclesiastical controversy much earlier in its career, and was earlier identified with low-churchmanship.

In the course of clarifying its position with reference to the high churchmen and to Protestantism, the Evangelicals were slowly, and I think often unconsciously, working toward a position which differentiated Anglicanism alike from the Protestantism which would eliminate the episcopacy and from the Catholicism which would invalidate all non-episcopal ministries, justifying the episcopate on pragmatic grounds (as did Meade) or as necessary for the *perfection* of the Church (as did Moore and McIlvaine). Like Catholics and unlike most Protestants they regarded the ministry as the divinely ordered, authoritative representatives and agents of the whole Church rather than of any local group; unlike Catholics and like Protestants, they rejected the sacerdotal view of the priesthood. Like Catholics they thought the sacraments to be necessary and to be means as well as signs of grace, a position alien to such Protestants as no longer adhered to the views of Luther and Calvin. In opposition to most Catholics, they did not think the grace to be in any sense resident in the sacraments but rather to be conveyed through them when rightly used. Enough has already been said about their views on the Bible, the atonement, justification by faith only and sanctification to show that in these matters they agreed substantially with the classical Protestantism, which derived from Augustine and Paul.

Shortly after McIlvaine's death the Evangelicals began to be divided among themselves. One group, of whom an important leader was Dr. Carl E. Grammar, were concerned to come to terms with the findings of biblical and historical criticism, science, comparative religions. Holding strenuously to a non-sacerdotal view of the ministry such as their forerunners maintained, they rejected the theory of the verbal inspiration of the Bible and tended toward an Abelardian view of the atonement. This made them suspect of their more conservative brethren. In the 1920s this group formed "The Liberal Evangelicals," recently renamed, "The Episcopal Evangelical Fellowship," taking as their platform essentially that of the Anglican Evangelical Group Movement in England.

One of its major concerns has been reunion with non-episcopal Churches. Others grew less anti-Catholic, seeking to appropriate the values of a more advanced type of ceremonial than that to which they had been accustomed, laying more store by the tradition and authority of the Church. In the 1930's men of this persuasion were more influenced by the revival of Reformation Protestantism associated with the names of Barth, Brunner and Niebuhr. Thus the Evangelicals divided into more and less Protestant groups, and into more and less theologically conservative wings, though biblical fundamentalism has largely disappeared. The main problem of its present protagonists is to determine whether they are distinguished from other groups in the Episcopal Church by anti-sacerdotalism, or by an Augustinian conception of man and redemption, or by the degree of emphasis laid on evangelism, private and family prayers, and moral seriousness. It would be overbold to hazard a guess as to the future developments of Evangelicalism in the Episcopal Church.



II

SPIRITUAL ANTECEDENTS OF ANGLICAN
EVANGELICALISM

By Charles Wesley Lowry, Jr.

SPIRITUAL ANTECEDENTS OF ANGLICAN EVANGELICALISM

SYNOPSIS

I. The Evangelical revival is the product jointly of William Law, the inspirer of Oxford Methodism, and the Moravians, who led the Wesleys to an experimental apprehension of justification by faith alone. It is a single movement, divisible into "Methodism" and "Anglican Evangelicalism" only from the vantage ground of later history. There was present from an early time a sharp theological cleavage, the Wesleys remaining good high churchmen in adhering firmly to Arminianism while the benefited Evangelicals with a remarkable unanimity followed the lead of Whitefield in gravitating to Calvinism.

II. The reasons for the Calvinism of the Anglican Evangelicals are obscure. Whitefield, though influenced by the divinity of New England as well as the views of the dissenting Scottish divines, Ralph and Ebenezer Erskine, was a natural Calvinist. Free grace meant to him salvific action wholly on the side of God. He was deeply conscious also even as saved of a persisting sense of sin and guilt. The Thirty-nine Articles confirmed him in a Calvinistic interpretation of his experience as against Wesley's doctrines of free will and Christian perfection. This theory of the genesis of Evangelical Calvinism is confirmed by the cases of other prominent Evangelicals, notably Hervey, Grimshaw, and Newton.

III. The principal antecedents of Evangelicalism, on analysis, appear to be Law and high church Anglicanism, Moravianism issuing from pietism and Luther, Calvin and Arminianism. For purposes of this essay they are treated in two groups and ordered as follows: I. William Law and the Church of England, 1660-1714; II. Luther, Calvin, Arminius, Spener, Zinzendorf.

Law was essentially a contemplative and ascetic. From him was derived the puritanism of the Methodist movement. As a theologian he was orthodox but partook in his own way of the rationalism of his age. Faith, unlike reason, is seldom encountered in his pages. The heart, however, of Law is his Christian perfectionism. The entire imitation of Jesus Christ is the theme of his *Christian Perfection* and *Serious Call*. The Evangelical criticism of him was that he began here rather than with Christ the Saviour.

The Evangelical revival arose within the Church of England. It owed little to non-conformity, which was itself at a low ebb and in need

of revival. The reason for the vitality remaining within the Established Church was the emphasis upon the sacraments and the liturgy. These provided a rallying point against the incoming tide of latitudinarianism and rationalism. Another factor of enormous importance was the religious societies, of which the Rev. Samuel Wesley of Epworth was an ardent supporter. Not less noteworthy was the tradition of devotional writings from Jeremy Taylor to William Law, including Scougal's *Life of God in the Soul of Man* and *The Whole Duty of Man*. The latter illustrates the essential theological and ethical continuity of Puritanism, High Churchmanship, and Evangelicalism.

IV. Turning to the Christianity of the Reformation, the question which was primary for Luther was the salvation question. For him this involved not the existence of God but the reality of His grace. "How can I gain a gracious God?" The answer he found in the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith alone. In trust, not in self, but in God manifest in Christ, he found assurance and release.

Calvin is the pupil of Luther in asserting the sinful impotence of man, the paradox of the character of God, and salvation by grace alone. He went beyond Luther in raising and attempting to deal logically with the question, "How is fallen man saved?" It is in answering this essentially abstract question that Calvin asserted double predestination. He differs also from Luther in taking a passive view of faith as a human act and returning to a restrained but essentially Catholic view of sanctification.

The Arminian criticisms of Calvinism are at root two: it makes God a tyrant; it makes man a puppet. Arminius was, however, far from abandoning the essential Reformation position. He retained predestination as conditional and held alike to original sin and prevenient grace. Arminianism is to Protestant theology what semi-Augustinianism is in the Catholic tradition.

Spener may be called, with reservations, the German Law. Like the latter he called men to a life of personal holiness in separation from the world. Unlike him he led a movement, though Francke was its organizing genius; he stressed the necessity of conscious conversion; and he was influenced by Luther's conception of faith as a living power in the soul. He went beyond Luther and approached Wesleyan Methodism in coordinating with justification the new birth or conversion, sanctification, and proximate Christian perfection.

Zinzendorf was a product from the cradle of pietism. His religious precocity was astonishing. At Wittenberg his pietism was modified by contact with the older Lutheran theology. For him the heart of Christianity was neither repentance nor conversion nor sanctification, but assurance of God's grace through the atoning work of Christ and peace based wholly upon a salvation wrought by God. Moravianism as a distinct pietist school is distinguished by the weight which it places upon the primacy and sufficiency of grace. This explains the influence of the Moravians, and of Luther through them, upon Wesley.

V. The Lutheran-Anglican *entente cordiale* was short-lived because Wesley was a Churchman and a Christian perfectionist. He remained Law's man. The Anglican Evangelicals, on the other hand, believed in the empirical imperfectibility of human nature and held as a dear doctrine the imputation of Christ's righteousness. Were they influenced in this by the Moravians? The evidence for such direct influence is *nil*. Further, Calvinism is inherently more suited to the English mentality than Lutheranism or Moravianism.

SPIRITUAL ANTECEDENTS OF ANGLICAN EVANGELICALISM

*By Charles Wesley Lowry, Jr.**

I

THE FATHERS OF THE EVANGELICAL REVIVAL

WILLIAM LAW, according to Bishop Warburton, was the father of Methodism, and Count Zinzendorf rocked the cradle. For a saying conceived in ill will and intended as witty, this remark is surprisingly accurate. It was Law who was the inspiration of the so-called Holy Club or first Oxford Movement begun actually by Charles Wesley but organized and presided over by his elder brother John upon the latter's return to the university at the beginning of Michaelmas term, 1729. It was from this time that John Wesley ultimately dated the Methodist Society. Of his meeting with Law's *Christian Perfection* and *Serious Call* he wrote, in the narrative which records the Aldersgate experience: "The light flowed in so mightily upon my soul, that everything appeared in a new light."¹ The Georgia Journal shows that he used both works almost constantly alike for private devotional study and for reading aloud to persons under his pastoral care. Many years later he made them textbooks for the two highest classes at the Kingswood School. The testimony of Charles Wesley is the same. He was accustomed to say in his old age: "Mr. Law was our John the Baptist."²

Yet the influence of Law alone would never, and could never, have produced the Evangelical revival. Some force more fiery or electrical

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¹*Journal of John Wesley* (Stand. Ed.), i. 467; entry of May 24, 1738. The two treatises were published respectively in 1726 and 1729, and Wesley read them soon after their publication. In 1738 however he thinks of his meeting with them as one event, and in a letter under the date of May 14, 1765, he writes, "In 1727 I read Mr. Law's *Christian Perfection* and *Serious Call*, and more explicitly resolved to be all devoted to God in body, soul, and spirit." (*Ibid.*, v. 117)

²*Ibid.* i. 469n. Cf. the statement of Coke on Law quoted by Overton, *The Evangelical Revival in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 8: "This considerable writer was the great forerunner of the Revival which followed, and did more to promote it than any other individual whatsoever; yea, more perhaps than the rest of the nation collectively taken."

was needed to release the energy generated and stored up in the Oxford Methodists, whose sole design was to seek in society the Christian perfection which Law had expounded so eloquently as constituting the essence of Christianity. The Moravians were at hand to transmit the needed spark. Like their master Zinzendorf they were Lutheran in theology with a pietistic emphasis upon heart-religion. Through them the theology of the Reformation became a vital factor once more in English Christianity. It was the doctrine of justification by faith alone, experientially apprehended and boldly preached by the Wesleys and Whitefield, which kindled into a living and spreading flame the Evangelical revival. This doctrine moreover was the undisputed point of connection and common center of English Evangelicalism in every form. It continued to unite those whom the doctrines, respectively, of predestination and Christian perfection, tended to drive apart.

The validity of the selection of Law and Zinzendorf as the fixed stars from which the student of antecedents may find his bearings and proceed upon his journey of historical exploration, is unaffected by the important distinction, emphasized in Dean Zabriskie's essay (*q. v.*), between Methodists and Anglican Evangelicals. These phrases are convenient designations which are justified by the historical sequel. It should, however, not be forgotten that the revival, though complex in origin somewhat as a large river fed by several tributary streams, was for a long time essentially a single movement. It was so regarded by the principal leaders, far though they were from agreement on all points. Both regulars and irregulars from the standpoint of adherence to parochial boundaries—a classification which, as Dr. Zabriskie recognizes, cuts across Methodists and Anglicans—thought of themselves as related in a common awakening of Church and nation under the Spirit of God. From the point of view of the outsider, within or without the Church of England, the terms Methodist and Evangelical were interchangeable until the beginning of the nineteenth century.³

From the theological point of view, similarly, the differences which appeared within the general movement were real and disturbing. Yet they do not upset our preliminary analysis of basic factors. Law with all that he typified, and Reformation doctrine grasped in terms of life and experience, were normative for Anglican Evangelicalism in all its phases.

³This point is stressed and supported with numerous citations by Overton, *op. cit.*, pp. 45ff. For him "Methodism and Evangelicalism were parts of one great religious movement; and it is perhaps only by reading events of the eighteenth century in the light which the nineteenth throws upon them that the two can be separated by any very strong line of demarcation." (p. 44.)

Disagreement in theology, it may be remarked in passing, was probably as great a factor in making for a certain lukewarmness on the part of the generality of benefited Evangelical clergymen toward the Wesleys as the irregular status of the latter or the fear that the societies fostered and governed by them would eventually become a dissenting body. Whitefield because of his pronounced Calvinism was popular with the Evangelicals as a body, though he was certainly as irregular as John Wesley. As for Charles Wesley, it would be difficult to imagine a stronger contrast than that between his intransigent high churchmanship and the freedom of Whitefield in mingling with dissenters of all types alike in England and America.

The Wesleys were ineradicably Arminian on predestination and the will. Their Arminianism, at least in its mature form, should not be confused with the rational humanism of a Tillotson or a Butler. It has little in common with modern libertarianism. It was based on firm adherence to the doctrines of the fall, original sin, and justification by faith alone. But predestination neither of the Wesleys could abide,⁴ and in their experiential and theological recapitulation of the Reformation—something so powerful and appealing that out of it a revival movement of national and international extent was born—they simply skipped the Calvinian synthesis. The factors here are their high church background, the influence of their parents Samuel and Susanna Wesley, but especially the latter, and their long schooling in the Christianity of William Law, which in spite of the violent reaction against it, especially in the case of John, occasioned by the meeting with the Moravians and the re-discovery of justification by faith, proved too strong to be dislodged. The influence of the primitive Church and of the early Fathers should perhaps also be cited.⁵ Underlying such specifiable factors is doubtless an intangible bent of nature, a certain set of the soul, which seems often to be a determinant of basic differences such as those between Platonist

⁴Cf. Hunt, *Religious Thought in England*, III, p. 289: "So great was Wesley's hatred to the theology of Calvin, that, to avoid it, he took up positions verging on Rationalism." This is to put the matter too strongly. Wesley could say, "The Gospel lies on the very edge of Calvinism." But his language in speaking of predestination is vehement and implies more probably than he meant.

⁵Cf. the remark of Overton, *John Wesley*, p. 156: "In fact, Wesley throughout took a different standpoint from theirs [*i. e.*, the clergy of the Evangelical school]. They took their stand on the Reformation in the sixteenth century; he on the primitive Church. They, again, were all, more or less, inclined to Calvinism; he was a vehement anti-Calvinist." (Italics in text.) In view of the researches of Cell (*The Rediscovery of John Wesley*), it is hard not to think that Overton over-states the case. Yet Wesley wrote in 1739 in a preface to a *Life of Halyburton* which he published, that he valued it, next to Holy Scripture, above any other human composition except the Christian's pattern (*i. e.*, à Kempis) and the small remains of Clemens Romanus, Polycarp, and Ignatius. Leaving aside the question of the merit of the *Life*, it is impossible to imagine a Moravian or one of the "Evangelicals" making such a remark.

and Aristotelian, conservative and liberal, and which in the case of the Wesleys seems to have had the character of a strong predisposition toward universal redemption and free, equal grace.

Very different was the case with the majority of the Evangelicals,—Whitefield, Hervey, Grimshaw, Berridge, Romaine, Venn, Walker, and Newton. By a sure instinct and with a remarkable unanimity they gravitated to Calvinism, expressing their rediscovery of man's fallen condition, God's all-sufficient grace, and justification by faith alone in terms of the Genevan synthesis. It is to be added that for the most part they did so in a simplified and Anglican rather than Presbyterian manner and that their interest lay more in the experimental and scriptural truths which they thought pointed to Calvinism than in any theological system. From this standpoint it becomes evident that their differences with the Wesleys were not merely verbal and were not, in the main, fruits of the *odium theologicum*, which was far from absent as the controversy developed after the death of Whitefield in 1770. They were honest differences, on both sides, and were rooted in diverse interpretations of human nature, Christian experience, Holy Scripture, and the character of God.

II

THE CALVINISM OF THE ANGLICAN EVANGELICALS

The reasons for the Calvinism of the Anglican Evangelicals as a group are not easily traceable and in part can only be conjectured. So far as I can discover no work has been done on this precise problem, and decisive clues in their biographies and writings are hard to come by. Whitefield, probably the most outspoken exponent of predestinarianism in the earlier school, was clearly influenced by the New England theology which he encountered in America on his evangelical tours. But it is erroneous to suppose that the source of his Calvinistic views was Jonathan Edwards or American Presbyterianism. When he sailed for America the second time, in August, 1739, his differences with John Wesley on the persistence of sin in the redeemed, the imputation of Christ's righteousness, and election of predestination, were well defined. He had already criticised the tendency of the latter to discern in some of his converts an instantaneous sanctification and had protested against a reported intention on the part of Wesley to publish a sermon against predestination.⁶ In a letter dated August 3 he had written, "I am no friend to sinless perfection. I believe the being (though not the do-

⁶Tyerman, *George Whitefield*, I, pp. 252-53.

minion) of sin remains in the hearts of the greatest believers."⁷ His letters written on shipboard abound in allusions to specific Calvinistic tenets.⁸

Whence did Whitefield derive such views? Tyerman traces them to the influence of two dissenting Scottish divines, Ralph and Ebenezer Erskine, with whom Whitefield was in correspondence at this time and whose sermons he had recently read. His verdict is: "Whitefield's Calvinism was suddenly born in England, about the month of June, 1739; but it was cradled and greatly strengthened in America, during the year 1740."⁹ From the documentary and chronological evidence adduced by Tyerman, it seems clear that there is substantial truth in this theory. But it is very doubtful that it is the whole story.

The principal facts are as follows. In 1735, when Whitefield was twenty years old and shortly before he left Oxford, he underwent a very remarkable experience of sudden release from an oppression of body and spirit which had lain upon him for weeks if not months. His own description of the event, written a little more than four years later, is intensely interesting.

"One day, perceiving an uncommon drought and a disagreeable clamminess in my mouth, and using things to allay my thirst, but in vain, it was suggested to me that when Jesus Christ cried out, 'I thirst,' His sufferings were near at an end. Upon which I cast myself down on the bed, crying out, 'I thirst! I thirst!' Soon after this, I found and felt in myself that I was delivered from the burden that had so heavily oppressed me. The spirit of mourning was taken from me, and I knew what it was truly to rejoice in God my Saviour, and, for some time, could not avoid singing Psalms wherever I was."¹⁰

Whitefield interpreted this as a new birth, and it accounts for the fact that a principal subject in his preaching, which from the start had an electrical effect and brought him into considerable prominence, was the new birth. The two major influences on his thought and life in this connection were apparently Henry Scougal and Law. It was the little treatise *The Life of God in the Soul of Man* by Scougal which, says Whitefield, was the means whereby God showed him he must be born

⁷Tyerman, *George Whitefield*, I, p. 273.

⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 311, 313-15, 318. Cf. two sermons quoted respectively on pp. 278 and 297. Tyerman is right, however, in emphasizing the absence of much that is especially Calvinian in the sermons through this period.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 274.

¹⁰Quoted by Tyerman, p. 25.

again or be damned.¹¹ His first publication, in 1737, was a sermon entitled *The Nature and Necessity of Our New Birth in Christ Jesus, in Order to Salvation*. It leans heavily upon the ideas of Law.¹² The latter had a large part, too, in leading Whitefield to the practice of that strenuous asceticism which, as in the case of John Wesley later, helped to provoke a crisis.

Whitefield's relation to the doctrine of justification is less clear. In the Journal written on shipboard in 1739 he says explicitly that not long after the experience related above God was pleased to bring him into "the knowledge of His free grace, and the necessity of being justified in His sight by faith only."¹³ He implies that this insight went back to Oxford days and gives credit for it to his reading of Burkitt's and Henry's Expositions, Allein's *Alarm*, Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted*, and Janeway's *Life*. In Baxter at least and in the Articles of Religion, which he studied especially in preparation for ordination,¹⁴ he encountered the idea of predestination and election as well as the doctrines of justification by faith only and the persistence of sin in those born again. But all these seem to have remained in the background so far as his teaching and preaching were concerned until after his return from his first trip to America in December, 1738. Then to his surprise he found his friends John and Charles Wesley preaching justification by faith only as the heart of Christianity and creating in consequence a considerable impression. He fell into line with characteristic energy and susceptibility, being already in some measure prepared for the reception of such a doctrine as fundamental. Henceforth he held the new birth and justification by faith alone as the primary truths of the Gospel.¹⁵ But in a very short time we have him gravitating to an explicit Calvinism, while the Wesleys, with Charles lagging somewhat, incline to an amalgamation of the perfectionism of William Law with the idea of an instantaneous sanctification, derived in form from the Moravians

¹¹In a sermon quoted by Tyerman, p. 27. Cf. two other references to Scougal in his journal and in a letter: Tyerman, pp. 17 and 31. The work in question, a short devotional treatise written by a gifted young divine of the Scottish Episcopal Church for a noble friend and published by Bishop Burnet in 1677, was given Whitefield by Charles Wesley at Oxford. It exerted no little influence also on the Wesleys. Its thesis is that true religion is a new nature, a union of the soul with God, a real participation of the divine nature, Christ formed within us. It contains an important definition of faith, which John Wesley evidently never forgot.

¹²Cf. Tyerman's extracts from the sermon, pp. 80-81. For other references on Law in relation to Whitefield see pp. 16, 30, 33, 38, 59, 112, 200.

¹³Tyerman, p. 37.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 43.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 102. Also 149-50. Cf. 73 and 99.

but empirically grounded, as they feel, in the phenomena of the striking conversions in which the revival has begun to abound.¹⁶

As Tyerman says, Whitefield entered into a correspondence with two brothers, Ralph and Ebenezer Erskine, both ministers and dissenters from the Church of Scotland, in the late spring of 1739. The first letter seems to have been written by Ralph Erskine.¹⁷ A few days later a second came from Ebenezer, who communicated the information that he too was preaching in the fields and was reaching many thousand people.¹⁸ In his Journal entry of June 9 Whitefield records his edification in reading Bishop Hall's *Christ Mystical* and Erskine's sermons. This is the extent of the Erskine references. They do not tell us much, but they coincide chronologically with the emergence of Whitefield as a Calvinist. It is a legitimate inference that the sermons exerted some influence on the development of his views. But these views were already in the making. The proof of this is that Whitefield wrote Howell Harris from shipboard:

"In about a twelve-month, I hope to make a second use of your field-pulpits. Our principles agree, as face answers to face in water. Since I saw you, God has been pleased to enlighten me more in that comfortable doctrine of *election*, etc. At my return, I hope to be more explicit than I have been. God forbid, my dear brother, that we should shun to declare the whole counsel of God."¹⁹

From the Journal we are able to date the visit to Wales referred to in this letter. It was in March.²⁰

Whether we are to conclude that Harris influenced Whitefield the more or Whitefield Harris, it is impossible to say and is not important. Much more significant is the emphasis in the Journal of this period upon (1) God's free grace to sinners, (2) a persisting sense of personal sin and guilt, and (3) the Articles of Religion. In these three items we have the explanation of Whitefield's Calvinism. He was a natural Calvinist, as Wesley was a natural Arminian. Of the three emphases, the second is the most fundamental. The two men agreed in a way on the first and third, though their formal agreements harbored deep dif-

¹⁶Cf. John Wesley, *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection*, esp. §26, prop. 11 and following paragraphs. This for the interpretation. The phenomena at this time and later are carefully noted by him in his Journal.

¹⁷Whitefield's *Journal* (London, 1739), May 18. Under date of July 22 the receipt of another letter from the same is recorded, with a defense of such correspondence with faithful dissenters.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, May 26.

¹⁹Tyerman, p. 314.

²⁰We learn also from the Journal that Whitefield was in correspondence with Harris in January, and that on January 24 he paid a visit to Dr. Isaac Watts.

ferences of understanding. Thus free grace to Whitefield meant an action wholly on the side of God, as though a drowning person were pulled willy-nilly out of a whirlpool. He meant what Calvin had expressed theologically when he said that faith with respect to justification is a thing merely passive²¹ and is properly connected with election provided it occupies the second place.²² By free grace Wesley meant the free and equal favor of God to all men. But since all men do not receive God's proffered salvation, it follows that the decisive act is man's. This is the dilemma that neither Arminius nor Wesley ever satisfactorily faced. It is the explanation of the inevitable transformation of Arminianism into semi-Pelagianism.²³ As to the Thirty-nine Articles, both men made a great deal of their full acceptance of them. But Whitefield accepted them simply. The words of Article XV and XVII meant what they said.²⁴ Whereas, Wesley when the chance came with American Methodism, revised them drastically. It is, however, the persistence of sin that is the most important item. It is in respect of this that Whitefield's Journal is most revealing.²⁵ Upon retiring from the world for the duration of the passage across the Atlantic, Whitefield prays that God may show him fully himself. The entries which follow contain such confessions and implorations as the following:

August 20. A sense of my actual sins and natural deformity humbled me exceedingly; and then the freeness and riches of God's everlasting love broke in with such light and power upon my soul, that I was often awed into silence and could not speak any more.

September 8. Had as deep a sense of sin, and my in-bred corruptions, as ever I had in my life.—I groan daily to be set at liberty. Dearest Redeemer I come unto thee weary and heavy-laden, O do Thou bring me into the freedom of the sons of God.

In another passage Whitefield quotes Luther as saying that he never undertook any fresh work without a fit of sickness or some strong temptation.

²¹*Institutes*, III, xiii. 5.

²²III, xxii. 10.

²³The doctrine, in brief, that man retains effectual freedom of choice and that faith precedes grace.

²⁴It is worthy of note that Whitefield affixed to his famous *Letter to the Rev. Mr. John Wesley, in answer to his sermon, entitled "Free Grace,"* published in 1741, Articles ix., x., and xvii. together with a hymn by Isaac Watts beginning:

Behold the potter and the clay,
He forms his vessels as he please;
Such is our God, and such are we,
The subjects of His high decrees.

²⁵See also a letter quoted by Tyerman, p. 311.

These statements are about as un-Wesleyan as could be imagined. Wesley underwent a period of great spiritual trial after his missionary and pastoral endeavors in Georgia. There remains some mystery also with regard to the relation between his personal experience and the doctrine of sanctification which he espoused and encouraged.²⁶ But the wholeness and beauty of his life are unquestioned. He belongs among the greatest saints of the Church. There is much to be said for the view that he approximates the once-born type more closely than the twice-born. Whitefield, on the other hand, while vastly inferior to them in gifts of mind, in temperament and experience resembles St. Augustine, Luther, and Jonathan Edwards. The theological differences which split English Evangelicalism are rooted in diversities of spiritual constitution and religious history.

Such a thesis receives striking confirmation in the life and thought of the other premier Evangelicals of the English Church,—Hervey, Grimshaw, Berridge, Romaine, Venn, Walker, Adam, and Newton. None of these men seems to have been especially a student of Calvin or to have been interested in a systematic predestinarianism. Indeed it was Whitefield—again characteristically—who waded into the deepest water in this respect. But every one of them was impressed as a result of personal experience and observation with the inexpugnable reality of original sin and with the stubborn persistence even in Christians of the evil and deceptiveness of the human heart. Far from believing in the freedom of the will, they felt that they owed their salvation to the absolutely free grace of God. As Christian men they trusted in no way in their own righteousness, even as wrought in them by the Holy Spirit, but in the righteousness of Christ. His perfect righteousness was for them the sole ground of salvation from beginning to end. This is why they insisted upon imputed righteousness and disliked and distrusted so deeply Wesley's "Christian Perfection." What could such men make of the doctrine that "a Christian is so far perfect as not to commit sin?"²⁷ Wesley indeed held the Catholic conception of sanctifi-

²⁶Tyerman, *Life of John Wesley*, I, pp. 190-4, 201-2.

²⁷*Sermon on Christian Perfection* (first published in 1741), quoted also in *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection*, §12. Wesley amplifies this statement by specifying two senses in which it is true: (a) of babes in Christ; (b) of "grown Christians" who are perfect in that they are "freed from evil thoughts and evil tempers." "Everyone of these [i. e., (b)] can say, with St. Paul, 'I am crucified with Christ; nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me'—words that manifestly describe a deliverance from inward as well as outward sin. This is expressed both negatively, 'I live not,' my evil nature, the body of sin, is destroyed; and positively, 'Christ liveth in me,' and therefore all that is holy, and just, and good."

cation, as to some extent he recognized.²⁸ The Anglican Evangelicals are Protestants, if by Protestantism we mean the doctrines of the Reformation. Methodism historically may be regarded as an attempted synthesis of the Protestant doctrine of justification by faith alone with the Catholic doctrine of sanctification. Perhaps a Zwinglian and Anabaptist element in the form of the identification of regeneration with conscious conversion is also present. It came out of the experience of the revival, for Wesley himself never abandoned the doctrine of baptismal regeneration in which as an Anglican high churchman he was brought up.

The Calvinism of the Evangelical clergy was, as we have suggested, experiential in origin and motive. It was rooted ultimately in the life history and religious pilgrimage of the men concerned. They had felt the hand of God laying hold upon them, awakening them to a sense of their lost condition, and giving them a lively and saving faith. But instead of finding complete deliverance from the sin of which they had been made so keenly conscious, they found that it was only beaten back and more or less effectually restrained. The law of the flesh of Romans vii was still an empirical reality alongside faith, love, peace and all the fruits of the Spirit. This experience, which was evidently not something "pure" and unmediated, and which in their case was intimately related to the study of the Scriptures and the Articles and Homilies of the Church of England as well as the various offices of the Book of Common Prayer, seems to be the primary factor. It is notable that all regarded themselves as strong Prayer Book churchmen.

In the case of Romaine, the ablest and most theological mind of the group, it is impossible to posit any other specific influence, except his Huguenot ancestry and background. Hervey, on the other hand, "the first of the 'Evangelical clergy,'" according to Hunt,²⁹ and the literary popularizer of the new theology, was converted to Calvinism by Whitefield.³⁰ This is the more striking, as Hervey was the college pupil

²⁸Cf. Sermon cvii *On God's Vineyard* (Works, 3rd ed., Vol. vii). Here Wesley praises Luther on justification but asks: "Who was more ignorant of the doctrine of sanctification?" Likewise Romans like Francis de Sales and Juan de Castaniza have written strongly and scripturally on sanctification, but are unacquainted with justification. Trent confuses the two. "But it has pleased God to give the Methodists a full and clear knowledge of each, and the wide difference between them."

²⁹*Religious Thought in England*, III, p. 285n.

³⁰The evidence for this seems conclusive, though I find no reference to it in the standard accounts of the Evangelical revival. Hervey's letters to Whitefield in the spring of 1739 may be found in Tyerman, *The Oxford Methodists*, pp. 219, 222-5. Taken together with a letter to the same written in 1741 (p. 226) and a letter of Whitefield to Hervey written on shipboard in 1739 (Tyerman, *Whitefield*, pp. 314-15), they leave little doubt that Whitefield's influence was primary. For additional data on Hervey's temperament and predisposing experience, his letters to Wesley should be consulted. Indebtedness is expressed also by Hervey to "Jenks upon Submission to the Righteousness of God" and to Marshall's *Gospel Mystery of Sanctification*.

and spiritual son of John Wesley, whom he continued to esteem and to look up to even after theological divisions arose and began to split the movement. He was one of the original Oxford Methodists.

Grimshaw and Newton were markedly twice-born in type. The former, after a terrible period of despondency and temptation, found peace in the conviction that Christ had achieved for him a complete and gratuitous salvation.³¹ Owen on Justification was influential in forming his doctrinal views. The story of Newton is a spiritual odyssey of the most astonishing and unbelievable character. It reads like a kind of evangelical Anthony Adverse. He was a spiritual child of Whitefield, whom he first met in British North America.³²

Of the remaining four, Berridge in some ways resembled Grimshaw, except that he was more cultivated and scholarly, while Venn, Walker, and the latter's friend Adam were very normal Church of England parsons.³³

All were alike, however, in being aroused to a new sense of "man's spiritual disorder" and in expressing their evangelical analysis and experience in Calvinistic terms. This, we may conclude, constitutes the inner essence of Anglican Evangelicalism. For its authentic antecedents we must hark back to the Protestant Reformation.

III

WILLIAM LAW AND THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND: 1660-1714

We turn now to a more systematic exposition of the results of the combined analysis and exploration with which we have been occupied in the preceding sections of this essay. The principal progenitors of Evangelicalism as a whole have proved to be William Law, Martin Luther, and John Calvin. Luther's influence was mediated through the Moravians, who were children in part of pietism. Calvin received a new lease of life as a determinant of Anglican theological thought through the Articles of Religion and the puritan divines. Arminius played a part because he had laid a foundation for belief in the universal love of God without the abandonment of justification by faith alone.

³¹See above, Dean Zabriskie's essay. A vivid account of Grimshaw's conversion is given by Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, II, p. 677. Grimshaw's last words were, "Here goes an unprofitable servant."

³²Sir James Stephens' "Essay on Newton" in *Essays in Ecclesiastical History* is as fascinating as it is brilliant. Newton's influence on the second generation of Evangelicals was immense.

³³Venn was brought up in the high church school.

The English Church, which produced Law and the Holy Club and was the mother of every leader in the revival, deserves some attention. The primitive Church, which was taken as a model by the Caroline divines and was fanatically copied by the non-jurors, is relevant through its influence on the Holy Club and especially on the Wesleys. Tyerman, the indefatigable biographer, says of John Wesley in Georgia: "He was, in point of fact, a Puseyite, a hundred years before Dr. Pusey flourished."³⁴ Overton points out more constructively, that "it is not fancy, but plain historical fact, that Wesley derived his ideas about the mixed chalice, prayers for the faithful departed, and the observance of the stations, from precisely the same source from which he derived his ideas about the class-meeting, the love-feast, the watch-night, and the tickets of membership."³⁵ That source was the primitive church.

St. Augustine, finally, could be brought in as the fountainhead of Reformation doctrine and the premier Evangelical after St. Paul. This was the emphatic opinion of the Evangelical Church historian, Joseph Milner, who in his *Church History* on a new plan devoted 145 pages to Augustine as against sixteen to Chrysostom and eleven to Jerome.

Thus our subject could easily be expanded into a recapitulation of large sections of the history of Christianity, and that without resort to arbitrary or merely logical principles of interconnection. Since this is out of the question in an essay of this character, it is necessary that we limit ourselves severely both as to the matter and the manner of our further survey. We shall treat, in the remainder of this section, Law and some features of the Church of England from 1660 to 1714. Then in a fourth section we shall try to discuss Luther, Calvin, Arminius, Spener, and Zinzendorf as they bear upon the Evangelical revival. The two sections will thus comprehend the primary antecedents of Evangelicalism taken as a whole.

WILLIAM LAW (1686-1761)

We begin with William Law. This extraordinary man was born at King's Cliffe, Northamptonshire, in 1686—two years before Alexander Pope and six years before Joseph Butler. He was the fourth of eleven children and was the son of a shopkeeper of good family. Almost nothing seems to be known of his childhood and youth. One surmises that he was brought up very religiously and that his sense of Christian vocation was deepened in his university days. He was elected a fellow

³⁴*Life of John Wesley*, I, p. 148.

³⁵*John Wesley*, p. 30. Cf. the following entry from Wesley's Journal: "Easter, 1777—During the Octave I administered the Lord's Supper every morning after the example of the Primitive Church." He was then nearly seventy-four years old.

of his college, Emmanuel, Cambridge in 1711 and received holy orders the same year. Suddenly by what seems an act of quixotic ardor he cut short his career in Church and university and forfeited every prospect of worldly advancement. Upon the death of Queen Anne he refused the oaths of allegiance to the new government and abjuration of the so-called Pretender, thereby becoming one of the second generation of non-jurors. Henceforth he supported himself as he could and devoted himself in the utmost simplicity to the service of God in prayer, study, writing, and good works of education and charity. His inflexible and unremitting self-dedication is a phenomenon almost as remarkable, and less easily explicable, than the reconversion and subsequent career of John Wesley. When we consider that he was one of the most accomplished controversialists of an unusually brilliant age, and that in sheer intellectual power he was hardly surpassed by any of his contemporaries, our wonder is still further increased.³⁶

Law was essentially a contemplative. He cultivated the perfection which he upheld as the heart of Christianity in retirement from the world. The asceticism of his life was unsparing, and it was sustained not spasmodic. Wesley in contrast was a practical genius, a leader, a man of action, an organizer, an administrator, an educator. Of the two men Law was the more innately puritan. Wesley was genial and lovable by comparison. Nevertheless, Wesley was the disciple of Law, and the latter is the fountain-head of the puritanism which became a prominent feature of Evangelicalism and has remained one of the predominating characteristics of Methodism.³⁷

About 1733 Law became acquainted with the writings of Jacob Boehme. By 1737 he had become a convinced mystic in the normative sense of at once accepting the monistic metaphysic which underlies the great mystical tradition and acting upon the mandate that the supreme aim of living is the experienced realization of the soul's intrinsic oneness with God. His writings were thenceforth increasingly pervaded by the new leaven and earned him the title, "*The English Mystic*."³⁸ With this phase of Law's history we have no concern, except to remark that it led John Wesley to utter some of the most strongly anti-mystical pronouncements in the history of theology. The other Evangelicals agreed entirely with Wesley's view. All were uncompromisingly hostile to the "mystic divinity."

³⁶The first section of Law's answer to Mandeville's *Fable of the Bees* was described by John Sterling as the most remarkable philosophical essay he had seen in the English language (Hunt, *op. cit.*, p. 91). F. D. Maurice republished this work of Law.

³⁷Cf. Law's *The Absolute Unlawfulness of the Stage—Entertainment Fully Demonstrated*. London, 1726.

³⁸Overton, *Life and Opinions of William Law*, p. 141.

The *Christian Perfection* and *Serious Call*, which were first published in 1726 and 1729, continued nevertheless to exert a tremendous influence. From first to last an innumerable company of men and women owed to these writings a serious concern for the things of the Spirit. We have already spoken of their effect upon the Wesleys and Whitefield and of their relation to the infant Methodist movement at Oxford. Of the Anglican Evangelicals, Hervey, Venn, Adam, Scott, and Stillington were certainly indebted to the *Serious Call*. So probably was Newton.³⁹ Hervey, in addition, received some of his literary inspiration from Law. Samuel Johnson's debt to Law is well known. His *Serious Call* "was the first occasion of my thinking in earnest."⁴⁰ The spirit of Law still lives in the striking prayers of Johnson—as religious a man as there was in the century. Most striking of all is the tribute of the cynical historian Gibbon, in whose grandfather's house at Putney Law lived as tutor and chaplain for at least twelve years. "In our family," writes Gibbon, "he left the reputation of a worthy and pious man, who believed all that he professed, and practised all that he enjoyed."⁴¹ The *Serious Call* he refers to as a "powerful book of devotion."

Law as a theologian was very much of his time. As a rigid high churchman he was perfectly orthodox. "All the Precepts and Doctrines of the Gospel are founded on these two great Truths, the deplorable corruption of human Nature, and its new Birth in Christ Jesus."⁴² At the same time he was to a marked degree a rationalist. Here he is more like Butler than the Evangelicals. Reason is a word often to be found on his pages. Faith curiously is seldom to be encountered. In any case it is primarily assent to what is overwhelmingly reasonable and inherently sensible.⁴³ It is for this reason that Law can appeal so ingenuously to the motive of happiness. For him there is literally no contradiction or even tension between the fullest acceptance of this inherent desire and the most extreme self-denial while in the body.

But the heart of Law is neither his orthodoxy nor his rationalism. It is his Christian perfectionism. His primary message is a summons to the entire imitation of Jesus Christ. This is the theme of both the *Christian Perfection* and the *Serious Call*. In the first the imitation is placed in a context of emphasis upon the new birth as the cardinal posi-

³⁹Overton, *Life and Opinions of Law*, p. 110.

⁴⁰Boswell's *Life*, quoted by Overton, who gives other testimonies.

⁴¹Overton, *ibid.*, p. 53.

⁴²*A Practical Treatise on Christian Perfection*, Works, III, p. 13.

⁴³Cf. *Serious Call*, p. 1: "True religion is nothing but simple Nature governed by right reason." Also p. 53: "But as the religion of the Gospel is only the refinement and enlightenment of our best faculties, as it only requires a life of the highest reason . . . who can think it grievous to live always in the spirit of such a religion?"

tive doctrine of Christianity. The whole argument rests upon an otherworldliness as unqualified and as eloquently set forth as is to be found in all Christian literature.

"If thou rememberest that the whole Race of Mankind are a Race of fallen Spirits, that pass through this World as an arrow passes through the Air, thou wilt soon perceive, that all things here are equally great and equally little, and that there is no Wisdom or Happiness, but in getting away to the best advantage."⁴⁴

Such otherworldliness, however, far from eliminating the ethics of Jesus as a practical concern, in Laws view establishes it. It makes it a binding law, an absolute imperative. It is by absolute obedience, self-denial, mortification of body, contempt of the world, and love of neighbor, including our enemies, that we are to realize in actuality our new nature in Christ and be made fit for the life of the world to come.

"For let anyone think, if he can find the least shadow of a Reason, why Christians should at first be called to high Degrees of Heavenly Affection, Devotion to God, and Disregard of the World, than they are now."⁴⁵

"From all . . . it is sufficiently plain that the present Disciples of Jesus Christ are to have no more to do with worldly Enjoyments, than those he chose whilst he himself was on Earth, and that he expects as much Devotion to God, and heavenly Affection from us, as from any that he conversed with, and speaks the same language, and gives the same commands to all rich men now, that he gave to the rich young Man in the Gospel."⁴⁶

⁴⁴*Op. cit.*, p. 22. Cf. p. 19: "For if it be true, that man is upon his Trial, if the Trial is for Eternity, if Life is but a Vapour, what is there that deserves a serious Thought, but how to get well out of the World, and make it a right Passage to our eternal State?" Also p. 24: "If we consult either the Life or Doctrines of our Saviour, we shall find that Christianity is a Covenant, that contains only the terms of changing and resigning this World, for another, that is to come. It is a state of things that wholly regards Eternity, and knows of no other Goods, and Evils, but such as relate to another Life."

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, p. 61. For a discussion of the imperatives of the Sermon on the Mount as laws absolutely binding on all Christians, see pp. 91-94. The conclusion is: "In these things Jesus Christ is our *only Lawgiver*, and his Laws are to be complied with as the certain Terms of our Salvation" (p. 93). The highest sweep of Law's perfectionism is, however, the following: "This it is to be born of God, when we have a Temper and mind so entirely devoted to Purity and Holiness, that it may be said of us in a just Sense, that we cannot commit sin . . . This is our true Standard and Measure by which we are to judge of ourselves; we are not true Christians unless we are born of God, and we are not born of God, unless it can be said of us in this Sense that we cannot commit Sin" (p. 27). The importance of these sentences for the understanding of John Wesley is patent.

Of such doctrine was Oxford Methodism born.

The message of the *Serious Call* is the same. The principal difference between it and the earlier work is that it is more readable, more human, more graphic, more winning. It is less forbidding and less alarmingly austere. It is a literary masterpiece. If the analogy be not misunderstood, we could say that Law in this book has given us an *Imitatio Christi* in eighteenth century dress. The principal difference between it and its fourteenth century prototype, apart from intangible essences which are indescribable and the accidents of the eighteenth century readily discernible in the former, lies in à Kempis' more catholic understanding of human nature and human experience. Law's *Call* is more robust and masculine. It has in its unequivocal perfectionism less suggestion of the cloister. But for that very reason it has not had, and can never have, the universal appeal of the *Imitation*—"The Christian's Pattern" as Wesley called it. It knows too little of the weakness and inadequacy of the human heart.

This suggests the Evangelical criticism of Law. It was that his version of Christianity was all imitation and no salvation, all exhortation and no grace, all good advice and no good news. It began not with Christ the Saviour or with the gospel of the grace of God, but with the absolute laws of Christian obligation and conduct. This from the standpoint of the actual human situation, the Evangelical felt, was to miss fire. It was to put the cart before the horse and expect to see power in operation.

It must be confessed that there is much truth in this criticism. Christ the Saviour is, of course, assumed by Law. It would be impossible to emphasize in theory the fall of human nature and its recovery in Christ more than he does, at least in the *Christian Perfection*. But the primary thing is a perfect following of Christ. It is the new birth actualized ethically and spiritually. It is obedience to the republication of the law of God in Jesus Christ. Of the meaning of the Cross for man frustrated and impotent in the face of the divine demand, Law seems to have no conception. In his sense of the competency of human nature, granted revelation and the assistance of divine grace, he was eminently of his time. Consequently his Christianity was almost wholly wanting in the deeper note of a St. Paul, a St. Augustine, a Martin Luther, even a Søren Kierkegaard, whom in some ways, granted the latter's peculiar family inheritance and Lutheran background, he resembles. This note it was the work of the Holy Spirit in response to the overwhelming need of man to restore through the Evangelical revival.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND: 1660-1714

We turn now to the Church which produced Law, the Wesleys, the Holy Club or primitive Methodist movement at Oxford, and the scattered clergymen who were led in various ways to a rediscovery of the gospel of God's saving grace. The English Church of this period—1660-1714 is a convenient scheme of dates—has come in for serious criticism both for its own sins and for those of its descendants in the first decades of the Hanoverian kings. Doubtless there was much wrong with it. There is no question of defense or *argumentum pro ecclesia speciale*. The truth about the past we desire to know and must know if we are to build well in the present and progress in the future.

The salient fact which is undeniable and from which we start is that the Evangelical movement arose within the Church of England. It began and made its way for at least two generations as predominantly a clerical movement, although, of course, lay strength both within the Methodist movement proper and within the Church of England was being built up steadily. This was one of the most momentous results of the revival. The latter seems also to have owed little directly to non-conformity. Indeed one of the striking features of the religious situation at the outbreak of the revival is the low vitality of the dissenting bodies; a striking witness to this is Watts' *Humble Attempt Towards the Revival of Practical Religion Among Christians by a Serious Address to Ministers and People*, published in 1731. In this address the most eminent non-conformist of the day and sweet singer of the whole Christian Church compares the common professors of religion in the Church of England with the common professors among the dissenters, and laments the fact that whereas the latter were once distinguished above the former for strict virtue and exemplary and sincere godliness, this is no longer the case. He includes in his indictment and appeal a plain and most interesting bill of particular criticisms.

The significance of such testimony is enhanced when we realize that the dissenting ideal was the sect, in Troeltsch's sense, with the emphasis upon purity and wholeness of devotion on the part of all members, as opposed to an inclusive or catholic church. No national Church can escape the inclusion of a good many nominal and casual members. Yet the Church proved to have the stronger powers of latent regeneration, for it begat the revival which gave dissent itself a new lease on life and made both theological orthodoxy and puritanism in manners and morals a living force once more throughout England. Moreover, when it arose, it encountered opposition and criticism from non-conformist divines as well as Anglican bishops. The strictures of both Doddridge and Watts

on Whitefield⁴⁷ are strikingly reminiscent of Butler's celebrated remarks to John Wesley regarding the pretension to extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit.

What is the explanation of the complex phenomenon to which we have just drawn attention? It is that Anglicanism had a check upon the inroads of liberal and latitudinarian tendencies, whereas dissent did not. These tendencies arose in the Commonwealth period, continued after the Restoration, and received a greatly accelerated momentum with the rise of the Whigs to ascendancy after 1688. They were far from impotent within the Church of England. In fact they eventually brought about the situation in Church and nation which is the well-known and often described background of the Evangelical revival. But these tendencies met resistance from the start in the Established Church. They ran afoul of the high church tradition, perhaps the main current of seventeenth-century Anglicanism. This tradition became a rallying point for many earnest spirits without as well as within the Established Church. Conspicuous illustrations are the cases of Samuel and Susanna Wesley, the parents of John and Charles. Samuel's father was an ejected minister of 1662, as was Susanna's, the eminent Dr. Annesley, the minister of St. Giles' Church, Cripplegate. Her grandfather was John White of Dorchester, member of the Westminster Assembly and author of the *Century of Scandalous Ministers*. Both Samuel and Susanna embraced the Church of England by conviction, for which act the former suffered the alienation of all his relations and was left penniless.⁴⁸ One of the touching features of the amazing story of the Epworth rectory is the constant struggle with pecuniary embarrassment. The high church character of the Oxford movement of the late seventeen twenties and early thirties is sufficiently well known not to require elaboration. This bent

⁴⁷Quoted by Tyerman, *Whitefield*, I, p. 220. Tyerman also gives copious extracts from Watts' *Address*, cited above. Additional evidence as to the attitude of the dissenters is provided by the case of the minister of the Independent Congregation meeting at Pinners Hall, Caleb Fleming. He reprinted John Scott's *Essay on Enthusiasm*, accompanied it with a tract on the new sect of Enthusiasts, and dedicated the whole to Bishop Gibson, whom he assured that the Methodists had no chance of ever receiving favor from those who held the ministerial office among non-conformists. "That the spirit of God," says Hunt, *op. cit.*, p. 397, "had virtually departed from the world, was a doctrine universally received both by Churchmen and Dissenters." Fleming amusingly warns of the danger residing in the great resemblance of the doctrines of the new enthusiasts to those of the articles of the Church of England.

⁴⁸Overton, to whose invaluable *Life in the English Church, 1660-1714*, I am greatly indebted, thinks there is no reason to suppose that Susanna was regarded as a phenomenon or was without many parallels in the Church life of the time. It was the fame of her sons which saved her from oblivion (p. 157). He writes also that "neither the piety, nor the intellectuality nor the poverty of Epworth rectory was exceptional" (p. 96). It is an interesting fact that Cromwell's two daughters became members of the Church of England and were married according to its rites.

was augmented by the influence of John Clayton, whose bosom friend was a non-juring clergyman, Dr. Thomas Deacon.⁴⁹ The non-jurors were the right-wing of the high church school, and it was from them that John Wesley imbibed his extreme interest in the primitive church and the "Puseyism" in doctrine and discipline which he carried to Georgia.

EMPHASIS UPON THE SACRAMENTS AND THE LITURGY

One feature of the early Evangelical movement must be mentioned, its emphasis upon the Holy Communion. This was derived from the Oxford phase but did not diminish with the new chapter inaugurated by the rediscovery of justification by faith. Whitefield's first *Journal* contains a number of references to the "Blessed Sacrament." The mother of the Wesleys had an experience in connection with the reception of the sacrament which was accepted as the equivalent of the experiences of peace and assurance undergone by them.⁵⁰ The evidence is harder to get hold of and less clear with regard to the other Evangelical clergy, but the presumption is strong that they accepted fully the new emphasis upon the Holy Communion and stood for its frequent observance at a time when a shocking laxness in this respect was far from infrequent.⁵¹

This suggests two other factors of great importance in relation to the phenomenon which we are considering. The first is the inherent conservatism of the Prayer Book liturgy and the ordered tradition associated with it. These doubtless have their liabilities. They make for a certain inflexibility when adaptation is desirable, and they may tend at times to dryness and formalism. But they provide an insurance against capitulation to the intellectual fashions of a particular age. They present a permanent bulwark against invasion by the cult of the contemporary. They maintain the right of believers to the faith of the ages as against the credulity of their own time. Certainly apart from the Book of Common Prayer, it is difficult to see what would have become of the Church of England in the eighteenth century. It would most likely have succumbed, as did English dissent generally, to Socinianism and Arianism.⁵² Its resistance to deism would have been much weaker. Evangelicalism no doubt would have been revived, but the form of the revival would have been vastly different from the one we know.

⁴⁹Tyerman, *Oxford Methodists*, biography of Clayton. For Deacon, see Henry Broxap, *Biography of Thomas Deacon*, Manchester, 1911.

⁵⁰*Journal of John Wesley*, II, pp. 267-68; Sept. 3, 1739. Cf. p. 315. Also Tyerman, *Life of John Wesley*, I, p. 285.

⁵¹Cf. the plea of Secker, bishop of Oxford, in addressing his clergy in 1741, that "a sacrament might be interposed in the long interval between Whitsuntide and Christmas."

⁵²Cf. Colligan's important study of *The Arian Movement in England*.

THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES

The second of the additional factors to which we have referred is the religious societies. This unique institution of English Church life began about 1677-78 as a result of the impression made upon a group of young men by the preaching of Dr. Horneck at the Savoy Chapel and the moving lectures of Mr. Smythies at St. Michael's Cornhill, especially designed to reach the youth of the parish. The idea of forming themselves into a society was suggested to these young men by the existence of various clubs of atheists, deists, Socinians, etc. Under the direction of Dr. Horneck, who evidently saw at once the value of the idea, societies were formed, with very definite rules. The membership was confined to young men above sixteen who had been confirmed. Each society was to choose a clergyman as a kind of spiritual director. The meetings were held weekly and were strictly devotional. The prayers used were to be only those of the Church. At every meeting "the wants of the poor" were to be considered, each member being expected to bring some contribution in proportion to his means. The last rule was an engagement on the part of the members "to love one another, when reviled not to revile again, speak evil of no man, wrong no man, pray, if possible seven times a day, keep close to the Church of England." After the Revolution of 1688 a new rule was added, "that everyone should endeavor to bring in one other at least into the Society." The result of this was a notable increase in membership.

Upon the accession of James II the members of the societies, seeing Roman Catholic mass celebrated in the chapels royal and other places daily, procured a daily service at St. Clement Danes. They arranged next for a monthly evening lecture in the same church "to confirm communicants in their daily vows." Later this experiment was extended to many other chapels. Early morning lectureships as preparation for the Holy Communion, followed by its administration, were arranged for every Lord's day and other festivals. These services would begin at six A. M. Special emphasis was placed upon the Holy Communion, not only because of its central position in the economy of the Church, but also as "the best means to prevent men from apostatizing by confirming their vows and relieving their spiritual strength."⁵³ At the same time daily public prayers were arranged for, family religion (fallen into disfavor in the swing from puritanism) was promoted, and manifold works of charity were performed. The members of the societies visited and helped the poor and those in prison; assisted needy scholars

⁵³Woodward, *Account of the Rise and Progress of the Religious Societies*, quoted by Overton, *Life in the English Church*, whose account I have largely followed.

at the universities; supported the missionary enterprises of Dr. Bray;⁵⁴ and established and supported charity schools. In 1744 there were 136 of these schools in London and Westminster alone, with 5,069 scholars.⁵⁵ Of the societies themselves there were by 1710 not less than 42 in London and Westminster, and they were numerous throughout the large towns of the kingdom.⁵⁶

The connection of the religious societies with the Evangelical revival was a direct one. Among the ardent supporters of the former was the Rev. Samuel Wesley of Epworth, Lincolnshire. In 1699 he published *A Letter Concerning the Religious Societies*, in which he urges their formation in all considerable towns and populous villages.⁵⁷ They were an institution with which John Wesley was familiar from his earliest childhood. They were the model on which all his societies were founded: the Holy Club (actually begun by Charles), the one at Fetter Lane on May 1, 1738, with the counsel of Peter Böhler, the Foundry Society in June, 1740 (after the break with the Moravians), and the succession of Methodist societies up and down England thereafter. These societies, it must be emphasized, were to the Wesleys simply a variant of a perfectly normal institution of the English Church. Their meetings were directed by clergymen; their cultivation of the religious life was a supplement to, in no sense a substitute for, the regular services of the church; special emphasis was put upon attendance at the Holy Communion; the societies supported all manner of charitable and educational activities. Walker of Truro, who, along with his friend Adam, was perhaps the most completely independent among all the early Evangelical clergy, followed a similar model when he followed up the spiritual awakening produced in his parish at Truro through the preaching of the whole gospel, by organizing a society.

The religious societies played, however, a still more direct role in the initiation of the Evangelical revival. A great deal of Whitefield's early preaching, and of the Wesleys', after 1738, was done at meetings of the Anglican religious societies. It had been at such a society in Aldersgate Street on the evening of May 24, 1738, that John Wesley had "felt [his] heart strangely warmed." It is of some interest that

⁵⁴The founder in 1698 of the S. P. C. K. and in 1701 of the S. P. G. The first was really the daughter of the religious societies.

⁵⁵Tyerman, *Whitefield*, I, p. 88.

⁵⁶Overton, p. 210. By the death of William, III, according to Woodward, there were at least a hundred societies in London and Westminster. (Piette, *John Wesley in the Evolution of Protestantism*, pp. 187-88.) Whether Woodward includes in this computation the quite different Societies for the Reformation of Manners (founded in 1692) is unclear. At the beginning of William's reign (in 1689) there were already thirty-nine religious societies in London and Westminster (Piette, p. 187).

⁵⁷G. J. Stevenson, *Memorials of the Wesley Family*, p. 75.

nearly all of the strongly marked conversions under his ministry during this period took place in meetings of the religious societies, "where united prayer was always joined to scriptural exposition." Tyerman attributes to this the remarkable concrete effects of Wesley's preaching in contrast to Whitefield's open-air ministry.⁵⁸ The latter in his *Journal* mentions certain "lecture churches" in which he preached. The reference is to lectureships founded and supported by the religious societies. It was such a lectureship also at St. Dunstan's in the West which William Romaine received as a regular appointment soon after his arrival in London in 1748, and which was his only official position until 1776 when, through the Countess of Huntingdon, he was made rector of St. Andrew Wardrobe and St. Ann, Blackfriars.

DEVOTIONAL LITERATURE

It remains to mention the influence of the devotional writings of this period. Their number, as shown by a glance at Overton's catalogue of such works,⁵⁹ was legion, and it is evident that the demand for works of a practical religious character was great. Susanna Wesley's advice to her son John, it will be remembered, was that practical divinity is the best study for candidates for orders.⁶⁰ The works which had influenced him most, prior to the appearance of Law's *Christian Perfection* and *Serious Call*, were *The Imitation of Christ* and Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying*. Law's practical treatises were in the line of a well marked and firmly entrenched tradition. Taking into account the size of the population and the proportion of literacy, for popular education was as yet hardly even an accepted ideal, this phenomenon is impressive. It is not to be doubted that it is closely related to the rise of the religious societies with their strictly devotional purposes.

Of the most important devotional works of the period preceding the rise of Evangelicalism, Jeremy Taylor's *The Rules and Exercises of Holy Living* and its companion, *Holy Dying*, are easily pre-eminent. They alone have survived as classics. But in the Restoration period they were far from being "best sellers." In fact, it was the popularity of an earlier work of Taylor, *The Great Exemplar, or Life of Christ*, which probably led him to write soon after 1650 the "Holy

⁵⁸Whitefield, I, pp. 222-23.

⁵⁹*Life in the English Church*, ch. VII.

⁶⁰The father, it seems, at first dissented, urging "critical learning" for twelve months as a foundation. When, however, he received word of John's decision to seek orders, he wrote him to devote himself to prayer and study and to work especially on St. John Chrysostom and the Articles of the Church of England. (Piette *op. cit.*, p. 247).

Living and Dying."⁶¹ Other works of Taylor of this *genus* were *The Golden Grove, or Prayers for Every Day in the Week* and *The Marriage Ring*. Henry Scoungal's *Life of God in the Soul of Man* has been mentioned. It seems to have enjoyed a wide reputation. Susanna Wesley recommended it to her son John, and Charles Wesley presented it to George Whitefield. Alexander Knox in a letter to Bishop Jebb as late as 1801 says that this work contains "perhaps the finest view of practical religion, the most removed from coldness on the one hand and overhear on the other, that is to be found in the Christian world."⁶² There may be some truth in the calculus of the middle part of this dictum, but those who have taken the trouble to read the book will probably put Knox's judgment on a level with Wesley's encomium of Halyburton's *Life*, cited above, and the poet Cowper's considered conviction that John Newton's *Observations on Ecclesiastical History* proved his superiority as an historian in some ways to Gibbon. "The world," remarks Sir James Stephens tersely, "did not affirm the sentence of the poet."⁶³

Catechetical and sacramental treatises were very numerous. Of the latter one was by Samuel Wesley the Epworth rector: *The Pious Communicant Rightly Prepared* (1700). The most popular were Lake's *Officium Eucharisticum, &c.; A Preparatory Service to a Devout and Worthy Reception of the Lord's Supper, with A Meditation for Every Day in the Week* (1673); and Patrick's *A Book for Beginners, or a Help to Young Communicants* (c. 1686). Comber's *Companion to the Temple, or An Essay on the Daily Offices of the Church* (1672), was the most widely read of the works treating of public worship in general. It is worth mentioning also that Patrick, a bishop of Chichester and Ely, published in 1663, five years before the appearance of *Pilgrim's Progress*, his *Parable of the Pilgrim*. The idea of the two works is the same, but unfortunately for the bishop "the unlettered Bunyan is far more successful than the lettered Patrick," in carrying it out.⁶⁴

By far the most celebrated and influential of all the devotional writings of this period was *The Whole Duty of Man*. It was published anonymously but under the sanction of Dr. Hammond and with a preface by him in 1657. The idea informing it might very well have been suggested by Taylor's *Holy Living*, with its emphasis upon the means of holiness, the Christian virtues, and the duties of religion as well as its

⁶¹Heber's *Life of Taylor*, in Vol. I of the latter's *Works* (1839), p. cxl. Cf. John Evelyn, *Memoirs*, I, p. 273 (April 5, 1654): "I went to London to hear the famous Dr. Jeremy Taylor, at St. Greg. on 6 Matt. 48, concerning evangelical perfection."

⁶²Overton, *ibid.*, p. 280.

⁶³*Op. cit.*, p. 436.

⁶⁴Overton, p. 276.

inclusion of a variety of prayers. The success of this book is unparalleled. It speedily took rank next to the Bible and the Prayer Book, and for many decades retained it. Like the former it was regarded as admirably suited for free distribution among the young, the poor, and prisoners. One of the good works of the Oxford Methodists was to carry *The Whole Duty of Man* along with the Bible and the Prayer Book to those in prison.

The tone of the book, it must be admitted, is unrelieved in its earnestness and severity. There is little in it of joy or gladness in the Lord. It is not unrelated to the strain in the English character which is expressed alike in Wordsworth's *Ode on Duty* and in Nelson's exhortation to the British sailors at Trafalgar. It is, however, severely orthodox and by no means merely moralistic. Christianity and "a sober, righteous, and godly life" are thought of as perfectly one and the same. Christ, the author declares, who is equal with God, came to do three things for us: to make known the whole will of God; to satisfy God for our sins; and to enable us, or give us strength to do what God requires--by sending His Holy Spirit into our hearts. It is, however, on the last and on our duty with respect to God's requirements that the whole emphasis of the book falls. The motive for doing this duty and practicing the utmost care for our souls is happiness. Carelessness of soul, the author declares at the outset, is the root of all the sin that we commit.

What is man's whole duty? Using Titus ii.12 as a kind of text, the author declares that it has three great branches, *viz.*, our duty to God, to ourselves, and to our neighbor. Each of these branches of duty is analyzed in terms of specific virtues and obligations. The whole could be regarded as a detailed and prolonged expansion of the Church catechism. Great stress is laid on prayer, and a scheme of personal prayers is included. Particular weight is placed upon the Holy Communion, and special prayers to be used before and after its reception are provided. These, though not uniform in excellence, reach the greatest spiritual height to be found in the manual.

This work came in for severe criticism by the Anglican Evangelicals, on the ground that it made salvation a matter of works of the law and neglected grace, justification by faith, and the principle of the imputation of Christ's righteousness. Venn wrote a counterblast to it called *The Complete Duty of Man*. In the preface of this book he writes: "The great thing is wanting in that celebrated treatise, towards obtaining the end for which it was written: since Christ the Law-giver will always speak in vain unless Christ the Saviour is first known."

There was doubtless some justice in this observation and some merit to the idea, at least, which informed Venn's work. John Wesley, however, failed to see it, and he was utterly unimpressed by the new Evangelical exposition of man's entire duty. In his brief introduction to *An Extract from the Whole Duty of Man* in Volume XII of his Christian Library, he speaks his mind without reserve. This tract, he says, "far better deserves its title than that miserable thing which has lately usurped the name." He goes on to express his conviction that not one page contradicts the fundamental principle of justification by faith, and to recommend it heartily to those "who have already experienced the free grace of God in Christ Jesus."

This preface could not have been written in 1750 when the Christian Library was first published, for Venn's work did not come out until 1763. Moreover, Venn and Wesley were friends who had often travelled and labored together as evangelists. It was evidently inserted without a date after the controversy which followed Whitefield's death in 1770, when Wesley revised the whole of this massive work of fifty volumes. The new edition was not, however, printed until 1819-26.

This criticism of Venn and, by implication, the Anglican Evangelicals as a whole, does not seem to have been noted by any modern student of Wesley. It is a striking expression of his feeling for the old ways of the Church of England and of his tenacious belief in the discipline and institutions of that branch of the Holy Catholic Church. His fear of antinomianism was great. It still remains true, however, that Wesley is closer to the Calvinists than to the libertarian and quasi-mystic categories of modern religion taken as a whole.

In conclusion, it is worth noting that *The Whole Duty of Man* brings out the essential theological and ethical continuity of puritanism, high churchmanship, and evangelicalism in both its main phases. The differences among these are real, but the likenesses, projected against the foreground of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, are far greater. The morality revived in England as a result of the Evangelical movement was not a new morality. It was puritanism revitalized. One form of it may be seen in Venn's *Complete Duty* and Wilberforce's *Practical View*. Another may be seen in Wesley's preference for the *Whole Duty* and in his rules for the united societies. The first is governed by an overweening sense of man's sinful corruption and by a constant reference to justification by faith alone expressed in the thought of the imputed righteousness of Christ. It is more subjective and pessimistic. The second is governed by a concern for actual holiness of life and for good works as the fruit of faith working by love. It is more practical and optimistic. Yet it is Wilberforce, the spiritual son of Newton and the

parishioner of Venn's son, who became the symbol of the power of evangelicalism in social reform. And to no one did Wilberforce's stand against slavery bring more joy and satisfaction than to the aged John Wesley.

IV

THE CHRISTIANITY OF THE REFORMATION

The *premier influence* discernible in the Evangelical movement is, as we have seen, the Christianity of William Law. To trace out the path along which this influence was mediated and transmitted, it is necessary to examine Anglicanism against the background of English Christianity in general during the period 1660-1720. This we have attempted to do in a preliminary way, though it is our judgment that a good deal more work needs to be done in this field.⁶⁵

We turn now to the *second and equally potent influence* operative in Evangelicalism, viz., the Christianity of the Reformation. In this section we shall try (a) to analyze in a few of its salient features the experience and doctrine of Luther and Calvin, and (b) to study the development and outcome of Reformation Christianity in Arminius, in Spener, and in Zinzendorf—the key figures in the transmission of this influence to the founders of the Evangelical revival. Owing to the limitation of space, what we shall say about Luther, Calvin, and Arminius will be summary in character, an attempted recapitulation of what is after all well known. On Spener and Zinzendorf it will be appropriate to go more into detail.

1. LUTHER (1483-1546)

Luther was the originator of the Reformation. His was the pivotal personal force that swung the granitic mass of the Christian Church in the West off its solid base and changed the doctrine and character of the Christian Religion taken as a whole, and remade the map of Christendom. Yet, as Harnack and others have shown, Luther did all this not as a great liberal or prophet of modernity, but as a reactionary in the strict sense—as an old Catholic, as an Augustinian and a Paulinist.⁶⁶ It is noteworthy that the real modernists, the rationalists and systematic Socinians of a later era, and one impinging upon our own time, were to

⁶⁵For example, the record of activity of the S. P. C. K. and especially of the S. P. G. in the colonial empire, points in the direction of the need for re-valuation of the traditional view of the Church of England of the 18th century. Those societies were organized and supported in England, and the first missionaries were recruited from the home front.

⁶⁶Harnack, *History of Dogma*, E. T., Vol. VII.

see in St. Paul the corrupter of the teachings of Jesus and the founder of dogmatic Christianity.

What was the heart of Luther's Christianity? The answer must be sought, as in the case of St. Paul, of St. Augustine, and, later on, of John Wesley, in his personal religious history. Luther, not alone among his contemporaries in and out of the monasteries, was preoccupied with a question that has tended to appear and reappear in varied guise throughout the history of religion. It may perhaps be called the deepest and most determinative of all religious questions. It is the question of salvation. How can I be reconciled to the Divine, to God? How can I find peace and rest in the face of anxiety, a troubled conscience, doubt, and the certainty of death? These two queries are not really separate; they are rather obverse and reverse sides of the one single question; they correspond to the objective and subjective sides of religion interpreted as essentially soteriological in character. How can I know God (ultimate being and power) as gracious, and how can I find certainty and peace in this knowledge? This states Luther's problem and the form of the answer he found. For the content of the answer we must turn to St. Paul as Luther understood him.

As in the first centuries of the Christian era, the question of the existence of God does not seem to have troubled the generality of men in the sixteenth century. Likewise the judgment is something which they took for granted. Artists such as Michelangelo (1475-1564) and Rubens (1577-1640)—a much more pagan painter yet a great depicter of the Last Judgment—are significant in this connection. For Luther God, sin, and the judgment are great realities. His problem was to know God in a mode other than that of power, severity, terror, and judgment. "Wie kriege ich ein gnädigen Gott?" How can I gain a gracious God? This is the crux of Luther's quest. It is the key to the answer which he found and to the doctrinal genesis of the Reformation.⁶⁷

Luther found no help in his difficulty either practically in the extremes of ascetic discipline or theoretically in the theology of *gratia creata* (infused grace) characteristic of Semi-Pelagian Occamists of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. He did get some valuable advice from his superiors of the Augustinian Order in Germany. He began to see light in the experience and teaching of St. Augustine. Finally in St. Paul's doctrine of justification by faith apart from merits, and forgiveness without respect to the demands of the law, as the very meaning of Christ and his Cross, light burst upon his soul in a flood. The Reformation was born.

This is not all there is to the Christianity of Luther. He was a

⁶⁷See Fritz Frey, *Luther's Glaubensbegriff* (1939).

powerful paradoxical thinker. He was an acute dogmatic theologian, and by no means as thoroughly anti-scholastic as he imagined himself to be. In the history of dogma he is to be understood, in Harnack's phrase, as "the restorer of the old dogma." But he is above all the man of faith—faith viewed no longer as mainly intellectual assent but faith conceived of as trust, confidence, assurance—utter reliance on God in Christ. If the phrase "in Christ" is kept in view, Seeberg's dictum is justified, that "the leverage of Luther's reformatory principle lies, not in justification, nor in a new theory of grace, but in the conviction that faith is the form of true religion."⁶⁸ It is in the conception of faith answering to the living Word of God in Christ that we have the heart of Luther's Christianity. It is no accident that the shaken "Puseyite," John Wesley, was listening to Luther on the *Epistle to the Romans* when he felt his "heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation."⁶⁹

2. CALVIN (1509-1564)

Calvin, remarks Harnack pointedly, "is, as a theologian, an Epigone of Luther."⁷⁰ There is much truth in this judgment. Calvin is the systematizer: Melancthon started out to be but in elaborating in successive editions of his *Loci* the theology of the Reformation he shed the specific views acquired under the spell of Luther's magnetic personality and returned to his true self—a self nearer to Erasmus and Zwingli. He thus became "the ethicist of the Reformation."

Calvin is the truer pupil of Luther, although he is of another race and native tongue. He is at one with Luther on man and his sinful impotence. Neither ever compromised on this pivotal position. Then Calvin is close to Luther in feeling the tremendous paradox of the character of God. On the one hand, He is the God of this universe, its creator and ruler. Hence He partakes of the characteristics it unquestionably displays: severity, law, wrath, mystery, majesty—an interesting combination of the rational and the inscrutable. On the other hand, God reveals Himself unexpectedly and marvelously at one point as transcending law, as a loving Father. It is here that faith comes in. Reason of itself could never grasp such a revelation. Nor has the free initiative of man any role in the acceptance of God's proffered salvation. "By grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: for it is the gift of God."⁷¹ Here Luther and Calvin are at one, the former assert-

⁶⁸*History of Doctrines*, E. T., II, p. 223.

⁶⁹*Journal*, I, p. 476; May 24, 1738.

⁷⁰*Op. cit.*, VII, p. 268n.

⁷¹Eph. ii. 8.

ing more vehemently and flatly than the latter the entire "bondage of the will."

But Calvin went even further, precisely because he was a systematic mind, a thinker and a logician. Calvin, said the late Canon Streeter in his Bampton Lectures before Oxford University, "was the last and by no means the least of the scholastics." He raised and felt bound to deal logically with the question, How is fallen man saved? The difference between this and the key question of Luther is noteworthy. Calvin's is an abstract question and deals not so much with specific experience as with a generalized construct of experience. The answer was bound to be abstract and theologically speculative, although Calvin thought that it was "in conformity . . . to the clear doctrine of Scripture" that he asserted "that by an eternal and immutable counsel, God has once for all determined, both whom he would admit to salvation, and whom he would condemn to destruction."⁷² Thus the absolute sovereignty of God, in which Luther certainly believed too, is made a principle patient of strict logical use and is carried through to its ultimate expression in the doctrine of an explicit double predestination. This doctrine inevitably became the cornerstone of Calvinism notwithstanding Calvin's comparative economy in employing it, his apprehension of the peril inherent in it, and the richness and balance of his theological system as a whole.

In two other ways Calvin's synthesis (having regard not to all doctrines but to the pivotal issues of the Reformation) is somewhat un-Lutheran. It follows from the absolute sovereignty of God, considered as a major premise, that faith "with respect to justification . . . is a thing merely passive."⁷³ Luther would probably not have differed with Calvin's proposition, since the context is one of eliminating the slightest vestige of human merit. Yet how different is faith as Luther feels it as a compelling force and as he speaks of it in his writings. "Oh, faith is a living, busy, active, mighty thing . . . It asks not whether good works should be done, but before one asks it does them, and is always doing them."⁷⁴ It is this aspect of Luther which makes it possible to argue that to understand rightly his conception of faith one must posit a polarity as between God's gift and man's act.⁷⁵

It is, however, on sanctification that Calvin departs most explicitly from Luther. The latter recognizes in sanctification no distinct principle of the Christian life. It is simply one aspect of justification. But as

⁷²*Institutes*, III, xxi. 7.

⁷³*Ibid.* III. xiii. 5

⁷⁴Introduction to Romans, quoted by McGiffert, *Protestant Thought Before Kant*, p. 39.

⁷⁵Frey, *op. cit.*

justification in the end is based for Luther wholly on the favor of God and not on a power actually changing human nature, sanctification ceases to correspond to any reality and vanishes. Divine forgiveness is made the whole of salvation.⁷⁶ Calvin, on the other hand, starting out with Luther on justification, returns to an essentially Catholic doctrine of sanctification.

"To this mercy (i. e., justification) He adds also another blessing; for he dwells in us by His Holy Spirit, by whose power our carnal desires are daily more and more mortified, and we are sanctified, that is, consecrated to the Lord unto real purity of life, having our hearts moulded to obey His law, so that it is our prevailing inclination to submit to His will, and to promote His glory alone by all possible means."⁷⁷

This side of Calvin was an anticipation of Wesley's eventual criticism of the Moravians and Luther, except that under the influence of William Law and the conversion phenomena of the revival he advanced further towards entire sanctificationism. It was the predestinarian and Protestant side of Calvin, however, that endeared him to the Evangelicals of Whitefield's persuasion. The dearest of all doctrines to them was the imputation of Christ's righteousness, a conception disliked by Wesley almost as much as predestinarianism. Both issues had split reformed Christianity long before the advent of the Evangelical revival.

3. ARMINIUS (1560-1609)

Arminius was a pupil and temporary disciple of Beza, the great supralapsarian—or, in modern colloquial American, "super-super"—Calvinist. His significance is, therefore, partly symbolic. He typifies in his personal history, and in his temper of mind and spirit, as well as in his occasional and unsystematic writings, the repudiation of high Calvinism. The Arminian criticisms of the Genevan synthesis are at root two. It is founded upon an unworthy view of God—a view that conceives of Him in terms not of justice but of tyranny. It involves at the same time an unreal view of man, since it conceives of him as a puppet rather than an agent, with freedom at least in some degree upon his own act and upon the world.

Yet, in pressing these criticisms, Arminius was far from doing so as a radical or a revolutionary. His aim was not to destroy the Reformation position, as Luther and Calvin had formulated it and released it to the world, but to construe it in a manner that would permit the conservation at the same time within the Christian scheme of genuine

⁷⁶McGiffert, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-6.

⁷⁷*Institutes*, III. xiv. 9

ethical and human interests. He sought in short to find a theological *via media*.

Thus Arminius, on the one hand, retained the language of predestination, speaking of the decrees as conditional, not absolute. This might be regarded as simply concessive, since the heart of what St. Augustine and John Calvin understood as election is certainly lost by this qualification. Much more important is Arminius' firm retention of the fall and original sin, and of grace as necessarily prevenient if man is to be saved. This is the Augustinian and Reformatory side of Arminius. For him salvation is throughout the work of God, mediated by the death of Christ and the activity of the Holy Spirit. On the other hand, he insisted that the atonement was for all men, and not simply for the elect. The motive here is the universal love of God. As a corollary, granted the retention of the doctrine of original sin, it follows that sufficient grace is given to all men to repair the ravages of the fall and to enable them to accept or reject God's offer of eternal life in His Son. "The free gift of grace to the whole race in Christ is the foundation of the entire Arminian system."⁷⁸

The position of Arminius is in fact essentially dialectical. The point of application of the dialectic is, however, the relations of God and man, not the character of God. Here Arminianism resembles semi-Augustinianism, the ecclesiastical recension of St. Augustine that from the second synod of Orange in 529 won its way as the characteristic position of the western Church, in contrast to the semi-Pelagianism that persisted, and still persists, in the Greek or eastern Orthodox Church. Logical consistency is consciously surrendered in favor of principles of an ambiguous character derived from reason, revelation, and experience. Yet the dialectical equilibrium thus temporarily gained is not easy to maintain. It is hard to prevent a surrender to simplicity in one direction or the other, for the question, what is the decisive factor in salvation, God's act or man's free will? is natural and inevitable. To this question Arminius apparently gave no clear answer. The same is true of John Wesley—a true Arminian. It is not clear that either of them would have given the answer that subsequent Arminianism and Methodism gave, man's free will. But that is to turn illegitimately from antecedents to consequents.

4. PHILIPP JACOB SPENER (1635-1705)

Spener was the William Law of German Christianity. The analogy must not be pressed too far. There are many differences between the two men, inhering in their respective Lutheran and high Anglican back-

⁷⁸F. Platt, ERE., "Arminianism".

grounds and in the circumstances of their lives. Law's declination of the oaths of allegiance and abjuration resulted in his leading a life of almost monastic seclusion. Spener was active as preacher, teacher, and leader of the *collegiae pietatis*. But he was of a retiring disposition and lacked the energy, initiative, and administrative talent necessary to the make-up of a great organizer. These gifts found complementary expression in Francke of Halle, who became the foremost practical exponent of German pietism. Nagler remarks, for this reason, that "Spener and Francke together were to pietism what Wesley was to Methodism,"⁷⁹ This useful generalization overlooks, however, the relationship of Law to the Methodist movement. He was its prophet and precursor, as the Wesleys and Coke always recognized. Spener similarly was, Nagler says,⁸⁰ the prophet, the father-confessor, the pioneer exponent of the pietist movement. The explanation of the parallel, and a notable point of similarity in the two men, is their uncompromising advocacy of personal holiness and call to Christian perfection in contrast to the "deceits of the world, the flesh, and the devil." "Pietism not only combatted worldliness, but viewed the world itself as a vast organism of sin which every 'awakened' Christian must shun under jeopardy of salvation."⁸¹ There could be no better characterization of the standpoint of William Law. In one respect, however, Spener goes beyond Law even in his mystic period and anticipates in a striking manner the instinct and teaching of Wesley. This is in his preeminent concern for personal and practical Christianity. He felt that a living piety expressed in life might co-exist with serious doctrinal errors, and was not greatly concerned with theological orthodoxy. Also with this emphasis upon heart religion Spener paved the way for the interpretation of the new birth exclusively in terms of conscious conversion which was to characterize both pietism and historical Methodism.

Spener was greatly influenced by Johann Arndt's *Vom Wahren Christentum*, with its threefold emphasis upon union with God in Christ, the necessity of the new birth, and the need of combining religious mysticism with practical ethical elements.⁸² He had read in German translation some of the works of Richard Baxter.⁸³ Thus aroused himself to serious repentance and a turning to God with entire devotion, he sought as a preacher and pastor to wake Lutheran church members out of their contentment with formal orthodoxy of belief and tendency to

⁷⁹*Pietism and Methodism*, p. 15.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

⁸¹New Schaff-Herzog *Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, art. "Pietism."

⁸²Nagler, *op. cit.*, p. 26. It should be noted that this author uses mysticism in the looser and more general sense of the word widely current in modern religious and theological literature.

⁸³Schaff-Herzog, *op. cit.*

practical antinomianism. From Dannhauer at the University of Strassburg Spener imbibed a living interest in the writings of Luther, and was able to appeal to Luther's conception of faith as something so living and powerful that there was no question of its expression in works. But in fact Spener went considerably beyond Luther. His position as a whole is much closer to Wesleyan Methodism, which as we have seen is fundamentally William Law grafted upon the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith alone transmitted with a Moravian tincture. Spener has the justification by faith but in a most unLutheran manner co-ordinates it with the new birth or conversion, sanctification, and perfection.

Justification for Spener as for pietism generally is preceded by repentance. The latter is the first step to salvation and precedes saving faith. It is analyzed by Spener with a scholastic exactitude.⁸⁴ Faith, which is inwrought by the Spirit of God, brings justification, adoption, and regeneration or new birth. The identification of the last with conscious conversion or the experience of a decisive change was not insisted on by Spener. It is only with the special Hallensian development of pietism dominated by Francke that the element of conscious change is regarded as essential and that the notions of *Busskampf* (penitential conflict) and *Durchbruch* (emergence into peace) assume normative significance. Sanctification is the process which is initiated by the new birth and is so far insisted on by Spener as to be made the only guarantee of justification—a position that was doubtless one of the principal grounds for the charge of Calvinism leveled at him. He seems to have gone beyond Calvin, however, and to have approached Law and Wesley in teaching that perfection is not simply eschatological in its meaning for the Christian. It is indeed not absolute, and sins of infirmity remain as long as the flesh does. But perfection in the sense of freedom from intentional sin and obedience to the law of God is a possibility and should be the aim of the Christian. With all this went the further emphasis, which Spener related to Lutheran expositions of faith, that salvation is an experiential reality of which we can be assured by the witness of the Holy Spirit with our spirits.

Of the three distinct lines of development taken by pietism, all more or less dependent on Spener, the first or Hallensian has been referred to. The second, which had its *locus* in Württemberg, does not concern us here. The third was Moravianism as developed under the religious and material paternalism of Count Zinzendorf. In this movement we have the link between Methodism and both pietism and Luther on justification by faith only.

⁸⁴Into the following elements: *Meditatio peccati, agnitio irae divinae, dolor de peccatis, odium peccatis, deprecatio, propositum non amplius peccandi*. (Quot. Nagler, *op. cit.*, p. 33 n.)

5. NICKOLAS ZINZENDORF (1700-1760)

The connection between Spener and Zinzendorf is a very direct one. The former, a friend of the elder Zinzendorf, stood godfather to the infant count and for the five remaining years of his life watched over the latter's growth with a fatherly solicitude. The boy was brought up by his grandmother, who was a leader in pietist circles. She taught him to read the Bible every day and to love Luther's catechism. His religious precocity was extraordinary. "In my fourth year I began to seek God earnestly, and determined to become a true servant of Jesus Christ."⁸⁵ At six he regarded Christ as his brother and would talk hours with Him as with a familiar friend. At eight he was tortured by atheistic doubts. He never doubted Christ, however, he says, or with his heart. At ten he was sent to Francke's *Paedagogium* at Halle, where he was put under severe discipline. At sixteen he went up to the university at Wittenberg, where the atmosphere was anti-Francke. As a result in part of this early duality of influence Zinzendorf came later to combine "pietistic ethical practice and aspirations after practical reform in the sphere of religion with the theoretic habit of thought characteristic of the older Lutheran theology."⁸⁶

As a theologian Zinzendorf was above all Christocentric. The heart of Christianity he saw not in repentance or conversion as a deeply felt inner transformation or the ardent endeavor after holiness of heart and life, but in the grace of the Son of God who died for our sins and in His death assures us of acceptance and fellowship with God. With this basic conviction he dissented from Francke at the start, and the Herrnhut experiment was from the beginning on a different religious footing. Weight was placed on the Christian nurture of children, the fact of peace and assurance rather than the method of finding it, personal relation to Jesus as the source of Christian confidence, absolute faith in the all-sufficient atoning work of Christ through His life, sufferings, and death upon the cross, and an experimental rebirth by the Spirit of God bringing with it a conviction of the forgiveness of sins and a new heart freed from fear, anxiety, and restless striving.

In 1740 at Marienborn the Moravians held a synod at which sanction was given to the conceptions and modes of faith that had come to characterize them as a Christian community. Although they have never acknowledged any confession as binding, Hamilton says that this gathering has received the name *Lehr-Synode*.⁸⁷ He sums up the views put forward at Marienborn in part as follows:

⁸⁵J. E. Hutton, *History of the Moravian Church*, pp. 178-79.

⁸⁶J. T. Hamilton, *A History of the Moravian Church*, p. 189.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, p. 192. Spangenberg, according to Curtis (*History of Creeds and Confessions of Faith*, p. 136), affirmed that the Augsburg Confession had been and would remain theirs (*i. e.*, the Brethren's).

"The very kernel of doctrine was held to be the forgiveness of sins through the blood of Christ. Faith is a firm assurance which is wholly the work of God. This assurance manifests itself to a believer first of all in a conviction of his helpless sinful state. Then follows absolution. Before the Gospel can savingly reach a soul, that soul must be made poor in spirit and must see that in itself it is worthless and helpless. Then it is capable of receiving the message that the Lamb of God has died for it. The foolishness of the Gospel consists in this, that it was needful for the Son of God to die for us, if men were to be helped. Thereby all philosophizing is put to shame."

In distinguishing the Moravians' position from that of the Tübingen and Hallensian pietists, weight is placed upon the primacy and sufficiency of grace. It must be obtained first, then "faith and love enter the heart."⁸⁸

Such was the religion of Zinzendorf and of the folk who impressed Wesley so deeply. Such was the doctrine of Böehler. Its strongly Lutheran character is evident. Moreover, it was while listening to someone reading from Luther's preface to the *Epistle to the Romans*, where the latter describes "the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ," that Wesley "felt [his] heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation; and an assurance was given me that He had taken away my sins, even *mine*, and saved me from the law of sin and death."⁸⁹ There is an undeniable parallel between his experience and Luther's, as there is between Luther's and St. Paul's. Yet within a few months Wesley is deeply disillusioned by the perusal of Luther on Galatians and is saying things as strong against his doctrine as that worthy had said against St. James.

The reason was twofold. Wesley soon found that the Moravians were not high churchmen. They really believed Luther's words on freedom from the law and a righteousness of works. They neglected the sacraments, and they acted literally on the Zinzendorffian doctrine that the obtaining of grace is the first step. Molther seems to have had a hand in this outbreak of "stillness," and he may have been a bad exemplar of the Christianity of the Brethren.⁹⁰ But on the second point there was no question. Both Spangenberg and Zinzendorf were adamant on the persistence of the old Adam and the continued in-being of sin in the believer. The count indeed spoke so extremely and arrogantly that Wesley never translated their conversation but let it

⁸⁸J. T. Hamilton, *A History of the Moravian Church*, cf. the Easter Litany of the Moravians in Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, III, pp. 799ff. This production, so remarkable as an expression of joyous faith in Christ and of ardent thanksgiving, goes back to the period we are considering. Composed in German, it was translated and slightly modified in 1749.

⁸⁹*Journal*, I, p. 476; May 24, 1738.

⁹⁰Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

stand in his published *Journal* in the original Latin.⁹¹ We may follow the example of Wesley's charity and that of his editors except to note that Zinzendorf told him inherent perfection in this life was the error of errors and that all our perfection is in Christ. It is imputed, not inherent.

V. CONCLUSION

The conference with Zinzendorf ended the Lutheran-Anglican *entente cordiale*. For all the authenticity of the experience he had undergone and the permanence of his new apprehension of justification by faith, Wesley was Law's man. He was a Christian perfectionist. He was a Churchman. He knew and revered the primitive Church. He believed with his whole being in inward and outward holiness. He desired to see it spread through England. Thanks to Zinzendorf, child of Spener and Luther, he had found a conception so powerful that it made possible a nation-wide revival of such holiness.

What of the other premier Evangelicals? They were to agree with Zinzendorf on the empirical imperfectibility of human nature and its soteriological counterpart, the imputation of Christ's righteousness. This was to become the theological dividing-line among Evangelicals. Did the non-Wesleyans owe anything to Moravian influence? It is impossible to answer with certainty. Whitefield was in touch with the Fetter Lane society upon his return to England in December, 1738. But he was very busy preaching, and he gives no indication that he was influenced by the Brethren. Wesley did not publish the *Journal* recording the break with them until 1744. Moreover, Grimshaw had been reading Owen independently and had undoubtedly encountered the Reformation doctrine with respect to sin and salvation. Others not improbably had done the same. Wesley furthermore was an inveterate publisher, and his sermons on *Free Grace* (i. e., against predestination) and *Christian Perfection* were out. Whitefield replied as an extreme Calvinist in 1741. Thus the basic issues were in the open at an early date, and this can hardly have been without considerable effect. It supplied an incentive to thought, reading, and a specific interpretation of individual experience. For these reasons it seems unlikely that Zinzendorf exercised any direct influence except on the Wesleys, and that was speedily refracted. In any case it was inevitable that the Anglican revival of Reformation doctrine should take a Calvinistic rather than a Lutheran or a Zinzendorffian direction. The latter is too paradoxical, romantic, and antinomian to appeal to the English mentality.

⁹¹II, p. 489; Sept. 3, 1741. Cf. p. 451 (May 2, 1741) for the conversation with Spangenberg.

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III

THE EVANGELICALS AND THE BIBLE

By Stanley Brown-Serman

THE EVANGELICALS AND THE BIBLE

SYNOPSIS

The biblical emphasis of Evangelicalism. Two causes of this emphasis. First, reaction from the intellectualism and aridity of latitudinarianism. The Evangelicals' emphasis upon experience and their appeal to the Bible. Their stress upon the Spirit as a contemporary experience. Second, the use of the Bible in defense of characteristic Evangelical doctrine.

The biblical work of Thomas Scott and Charles Simeon chosen as characteristic. Scripture as God's word to the individual and as moral demand. The doctrine of sufficiency of Scripture. The strength and weakness of the position. The theory of verbal inspiration. Scott's canons of interpretation. Simeon's views on partizan interpretation.

The Bible and the theological controversies of the early nineteenth century. Challenges to the tradition position of Scripture in the latter half of the century. The rise of historical scholarship. Disruption of the Evangelical biblical front. Schools of modern interpretation. The present situation. Eschatology and the preaching of the primitive Church. The return to older Evangelical emphases. The need of recognition of the many-sidedness of Scripture.

THE EVANGELICALS AND THE BIBLE

*By Stanley Brown-Serman**

AT the heart of Evangelicalism lies a deep love of the Bible and the conviction that, whatever may be the other means by which God discovers Himself to men, it is through the Bible that He uniquely makes His nature and purposes known. To the Evangelical the Bible is the word of God in the sense that it declares divine truth with a clarity and authority as nothing else declares it. Therefore, from the outset the Evangelical movement in the English Church was, in one of its most important aspects, a biblical movement. Its successive phases and fortunes have been largely determined by the prevailing conceptions of the nature and function of Scripture. To understand the Evangelicals must be in large measure to understand the place which the Bible occupied in their life and thought.

BIBLICAL EMPHASIS OF EVANGELICALISM

In estimating the factors which gave rise to Evangelicalism between the years 1730 and 1740 the return to the Bible has often been stressed unduly. There was on the part of those who came to be known as Evangelicals a fresh emphasis upon the authority and value of Scripture, but Evangelicalism did not owe its existence solely, or even mostly, to this emphasis. Its real sources are to be found in the religious and theological convictions which they took over from the reformers of the sixteenth century. The movement was doctrinal first, then biblical. Nevertheless it was in their attitude to the Bible that the early Evangelicals were mostly agreed. **There were sharp divisions** of doctrinal opinion among them. The direction of John Wesley's theology was Arminian, that of Whitefield, Calvinistic; the majority of those who remained in the Established Church were semi-Calvinists, as were, for instance, Romaine and Toplady. Quite as divergent were their attitudes as to the nature and importance of the Church. But all were one in giving to Scripture a commanding and authoritative place in the Church and in private Christian life, and in the quality of their own devotion

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to it. They were, to quote an eighteenth century phrase, "eminently Scriptural men."

There have been times in the history of the Church when men have felt the promptings of a new and urgent spirit which has led them at once to challenge the conventions of the religious life they found about them and to enter upon new paths of spiritual discovery. These have usually been times of an eager turning to the Bible, as men seek some fresh and inexhaustible spring from which to refresh and strengthen themselves. So it was at the beginning of the Evangelical movement. Of whatever stamp they might be, the Evangelicals turned to the Bible for the verification of those truths which they felt to be of most importance. They almost lived with it in their hands. From it they sought the inspiration for their preaching. By it they governed their own lives and the lives of their people. Of them it might be truly said, "All day long is my study in it." Their devotion to Scripture was of the very stuff which constituted them as Evangelicals.

There were two definite reasons for the biblical emphasis of Evangelicalism, especially at the outset of the movement. One is to be found in the reaction of its leaders from the formalism and arid intellectualism of much of the contemporary English Church; the other we have seen is to be looked for in the particular emphases of Evangelical theology itself. These are related factors. They may be briefly looked at in the order given.

REACTION FROM LATITUDINARIANISM

The eighteenth century had opened with the promise of a new and vigorous life for the national Church. In its first decade, at least, it was drawing upon the rich heritage of the Carolinian divines and scholars. Although it is true that, since the reestablishment of the Church after the Commonwealth, much of its best energy had been drawn off in channels formed by continual controversy between Churchman and Puritan and between political parties in the Church itself, the Church had an intellectual and spiritual leadership of which it might be justly proud. It is probable that there is no equal period in the life of the Church which produced more really eminent men than the fifty years which followed the Restoration. To mention some of them, John Cosin, Jeremy Taylor, Isaac Barrow, and Thomas Ken among the divines, and George Bull and John Pearson among the scholars, is to become aware of the high quality of spiritual and intellectual life which the Church possessed. Under their influence the Establishment was awakening to energy and power.

By 1730 the situation had greatly changed. The Church had so far declined in influence that Gibbon could say in 1736 that "Christianity was no more a subject of inquiry," and that "nothing remained but to set it up as a principal subject of mirth and ridicule." Outside the national Church and non-conformity scepticism prevailed. The prevailing philosophy of deism with its cardinal doctrine that, though God may have created the universe, He had summarily terminated His active concern for it, hardly suggested that Christianity was a living issue with which the thoughtful man would trouble himself. The Church countered by dwelling upon the reasonableness of the established religion and the general excellence of its moral system. It was decently dying of propriety. The dissenting Churches were in an even worse state. The age of rationalism and moralism had set in.

Justice has often enough not been done to the sincerity and extraordinary ability of the greater latitudinarians. In a measure their defence of the reasonableness of Christianity was relevant to the needs of the times; their insistence on the ethical character of the Church's witness was necessary when all about them lay the evidences of a swift degeneration of private and public manners. But an almost exclusive emphasis upon the rational and moral aspects of religion is made at a price. From the level of the ordinary pulpit the presentation of Christianity must have been deadening. Sidney Smith later found it so. "The object of the modern sermons is to hazard nothing. Their characteristic is a decent debility, which alike guards their authors from ludicrous errors and precludes them from striking beauties. Every man of sense taking up an English sermon expects to find it a tedious essay, filled with commonplace morality."¹ Complete this picture by adding the common assumption of the latitudinarians that the Church was an integral part of the whole civil fabric, and as such scarcely possessed of an independent life and purpose of its own, the almost complete absence of reference to personal spiritual life, and the suspicion of "enthusiasm" as bordering on fanaticism or suggesting bad taste, and it is little wonder that the common religious life of the people withered under the regimen.

EMPHASIS UPON EXPERIENCE

Religion, and certainly the Christian religion, is not a matter for the mind and the will only. It concerns the affections also; it speaks to the whole man; it engages all of his nature. When justice has been done to its corporate and organic side, Christianity has its message to

¹*Works*, I., 10.

the individual. It does not deal with man simply as a constituent member of society, with the duties of that relationship receiving the sole accent, but with man as he is in himself, with his own sense of sin, his personal needs, and his own want of God. It has a message to man as in himself the object of God's grace and love and possessed of his own capacity for response. The eighteenth century did not deny these truths; it neglected them. But they were fundamental truths to the Evangelical. Because they were neglected he laid the greater stress upon the individual and personal aspects of the religious life. Therefore, he appealed to the Bible, for in its pages he found the charter of personal religion and the guarantee of the individual's right to a full spiritual experience. Scripture was full of instances of precisely those experiences of which little was made in the preaching of the Church and which the critics of Evangelicalism most doubted. In the Bible men and women were laid hold of by Christ, converted, marvelously turned from evil to righteousness, possessed by the Spirit, and filled with certitude and peace.

In their effort to rescue religion from the formality and dullness which marked it in their day, the Evangelicals laid great emphasis upon experience. By "experiences" they meant an awareness of certain states or conditions in the moral and spiritual life so personal and intense that they were perceived as *felt*, and not merely intellectually believed in. In one respect the appeal which the older Evangelical made to experience differs from that which is made today. Modern empirical religion is wont to stress the authority of the experience itself as authenticating a belief or religious practice. The Evangelical hesitated to give to experience this independent value and insisted that its authority must be found in Scripture.

An illustration of this characteristic deference to Scripture is found in John Wesley's *Journal*.² Shortly after his return to England following his American visit, Wesley had some conversations with the Moravian, Peter Böhler, upon a subject of peculiar difficulty to himself. This touched in one of its aspects the doctrine of "assurance." Böhler maintained that faith in Christ is inseparable from the fruits of "dominion over sin, and a constant peace from a sense of forgiveness." Wesley up to this time had had no such experience and doubted that it would stand the test of reference to Scripture. With the help of Böhler Wesley went to work upon his problem, "Viz., Scripture and experience." After a careful examination of the relevant passages Wesley says, "I found that they all made against me, and was forced to retreat to my last hold, 'That experience would never agree with the

²*The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley*. Wed., May 24th, 1738.

literal interpretation of those Scriptures.'” The personal testimony of some of Böhler’s associates finally won him to an intellectual assent to the truth that a sense of forgiveness could be justified by the appeal to Scripture, though his own actual experience of it was to be deferred for some time. This came while he was in attendance upon a meeting of the Society at Aldersgate Street, London, when one of its members was reading aloud the preface to Luther’s Epistle to the Romans.

“About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt that I did trust in Christ alone for salvation, and an assurance was given me that he had taken away *my* sins, even *mine*, and saved *me* from the law of sin and death.”

The italics are Wesley’s. The merits of the doctrine of assurance do not now concern us, but the whole passage in Wesley’s Journal is of great importance for the light it throws upon the Evangelicals’ characteristic deference to the authority of the Bible, even in the matter of experiences which might seem to convey a high degree of self-authentication.

Closely allied to the Evangelicals’ position in regard to experience was their conception of the Holy Spirit. The contemporary teaching confined the Spirit’s work almost wholly to the past. It was a matter of faith that the Bible had been inspired by the Spirit, and it was commonly assumed that the activity of the Spirit was to be found for the most part in its pages and the events and persons which they record. The appeal to the Spirit was thus an appeal to an era in history generally felt to be closed. Of the Spirit as a living power working upon the souls of men in the present the average eighteenth century preacher had little to say. In their formal doctrine of the Spirit the Evangelicals did not differ from the Churchmen about them, but they did feel that the Spirit’s activity could not be so exclusively confined to the inspiration of Scripture or to the events related in it. They regarded the Spirit’s work as continuous with history. What had happened in the first great age of the Spirit’s outpouring might, therefore, be expected to happen again. In fact they saw it happening in their own congregations and among the wider numbers to whom they preached. The Evangelicals’ emphasis upon the continuous work of the Spirit gave them a sense of what might be called the contemporaneous character of the Bible, for the same Spirit Who had once spoken still spoke through its pages; the same energy of the Spirit which had transformed and quickened men and women in the Bible was still available. Thus the Bible was

not merely the repository of truths once uttered, or the record of events which took place long ago. It was also God's living word to the present and evidential of His activity in the present time.

THE BIBLE IN DEFENCE OF DOCTRINE

While the Evangelicals turned to the biblical forces to refresh the life of the Church and in the interests of vigorous personal religious life, for which the preaching and teaching of the contemporary Church provided so little motive, the primary cause of their biblical emphasis, we have noted, lay in the nature of their doctrinal views. The early Evangelicals stood in line with the Reformers of the sixteenth century, English and Continental. Their common and most emphasized doctrines were the corruption of human nature by sin, Christ's propitiatory sacrifice on the Cross as the sole meritorious cause of reconciliation with God, justification by faith alone, and the necessity of spiritual rebirth. These doctrines were contained in the formularies of the Church of England, especially in the Articles of Religion, with which they expressed their complete agreement. But as in the sixteenth century the Reformers had appealed to Scripture in defence of truths which they felt had been minimized or overlooked in the traditional orthodoxy, so the Evangelicals rested their case upon the Bible. The opening words of the Reformation Homily on Holy Scripture admirably state their own position:

"Unto a Christian man, there can be nothing either more necessary or profitable than the knowledge of Holy Scripture; forasmuch as in it is contained God's true word, setting forth his glory and man's duty. And there is no truth nor doctrine, necessary for our justification and everlasting salvation, but that is, or may be, drawn from that fountain and well of truth."

The Evangelicals accepted the general definition of the nature and function of Scripture set forth in the homily, but they were in special sympathy with the view implied in the second part of the words quoted, that justification and salvation (by faith in Christ only and by His merits alone) are the primary truths to be established by the appeal to Scripture. It was natural, then, that they turned most frequently to those portions of it in which those doctrines were most clearly stated, and especially to the major epistles of St. Paul.

That is not to say that the Evangelicals were indifferent to other aspects of religious truths in the Bible, or that they concentrated exclusively upon those parts of it which best served the interests of

their theology. That is certainly true of some of them. The charge that they were partizan users of Scripture was not without foundation. But a study of the sermons of the great leaders of the movement from John Wesley to Bishop Meade in America shows that, in spite of an inevitable accent upon those passages in which Evangelical doctrine was grounded, they strove to do justice to the Bible as a whole and to the many aspects of life and truth which it presents. The Evangelical was by preference a preacher and it is in his sermons that we discover most clearly his biblical positions. The sermon was frequently based upon a text from the Epistles to the Galatians or Romans. It was a doctrinal discourse, yet with a quality of warmth and passion, setting forth the Evangelical message of salvation. In any sermon the preacher was never far from that theme. But the text may be from the Gospels, the Psalms, or the other parts of the Bible, and the appeal be made to other phases of scriptural truth as they bear upon the conduct of everyday life and give motive to simple Christian living.

THE WORK OF SCOTT AND SIMEON

Early in the succession of Evangelical leaders in the Church of England stand Thomas Scott (1747-1827) and Charles Simeon (1759-1836). These men are representatives of Evangelicalism in the Church during the period of its greatest creativity. With the death of the latter the chief period of the movement may be said to have come to an end. Both men are remarkable for the extent and quality of their biblical work and for the influence they had upon the Evangelicals of their day and the generation following them. There can be no better way of understanding the best Evangelical positions in regard to the Bible than by studying their own personal attitudes to it and the views in which they agreed with the members of their own party generally or differed from them.

Scott began his monumental commentary on Holy Scripture in 1788, while serving as special preacher in the chapel of Lock Hospital in London.³ The latter part of it was sent to the press in 1792. Under the publisher's terms the material for the commentary, which covered the whole of the Bible, had to be supplied in weekly parts. These conditions of publication and the circumstances of the author's own private life made the continuation and the final completion of the work almost an act of heroism. Of these his son, John Scott, has written movingly

³Thomas Scott, *The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments, according to the Authorized Version, with explanatory Notes, practical Observations, and copious marginal References.*

in his *Memoir* of his father.⁴ The work would have been given up long before the end was reached but for the courage of the man and his extraordinary devotion to Scripture. The book was done under fierce pressure. Scott had almost no library and little opportunity of access to books. His small and crowded home afforded him no privacy. Often as he wrote his attention was distracted by the care of several small children. Yet his commentary was to be for nearly two generations the companion of almost every Evangelical clergyman in the Church of England and the source from which he drew the inspiration and the material of his sermons. In many places it shows the circumstances of its composition. There is haste in many a passage, lack of proportion, and sometimes glaring defects in scholarship. But it is throughout marked by sound common sense, keen judgments, and an almost intuitive apprehension of the meaning of Scripture.

Charles Simeon, the leading figure in Cambridge in his day and for many years the brilliant and compelling preacher in Trinity Church in that place, is known for his biblical work chiefly through his *Horae Homileticae*, which Simeon describes in a sub-title as "Skeletons of Sermons."⁵ The work comprises some twenty-five hundred outlines of sermons based upon every book in the Bible. Of them Bishop Stoughton says, "Simeon's Skeletons extended the preacher's fame and influence and many a clergyman fifty years ago took them into his pulpit, clothed with a due amount of suggested illustration and appeal."⁶ Bishop Wilson of Calcutta, a personal friend of Simeon's, spoke of him as "the most Scriptural of divines."

The first thing to be noted of both Scott and Simeon is their personal devotion to the Bible and their tremendous sense that the Bible speaks directly to them as a word of God compelling response on their own part. Scott in writing to a friend says:

"In general I think I have found it advantageous to read Scripture with such exactness, as to weigh every expression and its connection, as if I were to preach on every verse; and then to apply the result to my own case, character, experience, and conduct, as if it had been directly addressed to me, not as a new promise or revelation, but as a message containing warning, caution, reproof, exhortation, encouragement, or direction, according to my previous or present state of mind and my peculiar circumstances."

⁴John Scott, *Memoir of the Rev. Thomas Scott*, Ch. XI.

⁵Charles Simeon, *Horae Homileticae, or Discourses digested into one continuous Series and forming a Commentary upon every Book of the Old and New Testament*.

⁶John Stoughton, *History of Religion in England*. Vol. VI, p. 222.

In his sermons Simeon constantly insists upon the necessity of understanding that the Bible because it is God's word, not to the Church only, but to the individual Christian, must be constantly in his hands and humbly and prayerfully read. More than that, it is to be obeyed.

"We must not sit in judgement on God's Word, complaining of this as too strict, and that as too difficult and self-denying. The only point to ascertain is whether it be the Word of God or not; and if we are convinced that it is His Word, then we must receive it with the most childlike simplicity, and obey it without either hesitation or reserve."⁷

This emphasis upon obedience to Scripture is important in view of a criticism early levelled against Evangelicalism that, because of its preoccupation with its favourite doctrines, it was indifferent to the moral demands of the Bible and inclined to depreciate the common obligations of life implied by the word *duty*. Over-insistence upon justification by faith only and particularly the doctrine of assurance of salvation led in some quarters to a revival of the charge of antinomianism. A modern writer points, for instance, to the disproportion in John Newton's teaching and attributes to it the moral confusion in which he left the parish of Olney. Lack of proportion there was and subsequent confusion there may have been, but few men of his day, and perhaps few of our own, would have had the moral courage to write to their people anything as direct as Newton's "An address to the People of Olney" with its sharply pointed Scripture references. It is worth quoting:

"It is with grief I observe how generally the Word of God is disregarded among us, though few can plead ignorance of his will. The Scripture denounces a woe against them 'who are mighty to drink strong drink,' Is. v. 22, and against 'him who urges strong drink upon his neighbour to put him to shame,' Hab. ii, 15."

There must have been more to talk about in the public houses of Olney for some time after than the state of the crops or the price of corn! Again,

"There is one sin too frequent in this parish, which on this occasion I think it especially necessary to mention. St. Paul assures us (agreeable to many other passages of Scripture) that 'whoremongers and adulterers God will judge,' Heb. xiii, 4.

⁷For this and several other quotations from Simeon's works I am indebted to C. M. Shavasse's address on *Simeon and his Love for the Bible*, delivered at the Simeon Centenary Celebrations at Cambridge in 1936, and published with other essays under the title, *Charles Simeon, An Interpretation*.

Adultery which implies a breach of the marriage contract, is so dreadful, so irreparable an evil, and as such condemned even by the heathen who know not God, that I would hope that none of you are chargeable with it."

THE SUFFICIENCY OF SCRIPTURE

To turn to the Evangelicals' doctrinal views of the Bible, we find that the position which is common to them all, and most frequently emphasized, is that of the "sufficiency of Scripture." This view had found its classic expression in the English Church in number VI of the Reformation Articles of Religion, which they rightly regarded as the Church's sole definition in the matter of the authority of the Bible. Both Scott and Simeon make the language of the article the starting-point of their biblical teaching. Both take the word "sufficient" as meaning two things. Scripture is sufficient in the sense that as the inspired word of God to man it contains everything which is necessary to his salvation. But it is sufficient also in that, when it is taken *as a whole*, it is the complete revelation of divine truth and needs no supplementing. Scott makes these two points in the preface to his commentary:

"The Holy Scriptures should likewise be considered as a *complete* revelation: so that nothing needs to be known, believed, or practiced, as essential to religion, except what may be plainly proved from them. On the other hand it should be carefully observed that the *whole* word of God is our rule, and that all preference of one part to another (Except that some parts are more immediately connected with our faith and practice, than others) derogates from the credit of the whole; and implies a latent and indulged doubt, whether the Bible be altogether of divine authority; and whether only that part of it be so, which coincides with the favourite tenets of the person concerned . . . True and intelligent faith receives the whole 'testimony of God'; and gives to every part its proper place and measure of attention, and applies it to its proper use."⁸

Simeon says: "We need no acquaintance with any other book, nor with any subject which is not contained in that volume." Again, "Nothing is necessary for salvation which is not contained in the Holy Scriptures and easily to be learned from it."⁹ In the latter part of the sermon he strikes out in a new vein somewhat characteristic of him on the subject of the sufficiency of Scripture. The Bible is sufficient because, with the exception of some passages which are admittedly difficult,

⁸*Horae Homileticae*, Sermon 1054.

⁹*Op. cit.*, 5th Ed., Preface p. 21.

its message falls within the comprehension of the common man. It usually conveys its own clear meanings.

The strength and weakness of Evangelicalism lay in the biblicism which this insistence upon the sufficiency of Scripture largely explains. The Evangelicals recovered for the Scriptures the place they had held in the first Christian centuries and in Reformation times. They restored the accent upon biblical teachings which were being minimized or were falling into neglect in the religious thought of their day. They made the Bible the cherished possession of large numbers of Christian people, simple as well as learned, and secured a popular knowledge of it which stands in sharp contrast to the general ignorance, even of its greatest passages and most elemental teachings, which increasingly marks our own time. It was through their endeavours, to a large extent, that the Bible became an available book. Where, hitherto, one copy had existed in a village, or was heard only at the public services of the Church, it was soon to be found in every home. The Bible became the basis of a new system of popular education which bore its fruits in the deepening of the common religious life and in the quiet transformation of the moral and social outlook of England first and then of America.

Nevertheless the biblical position of the Evangelicals had its dangers and its unfortunate effects. The great danger inherent in their too exclusive emphasis upon Scripture soon manifested itself in the inadequate view which many of them had of the nature and authority of the Church and of the claims of corporate Christianity as contrasted with the rights of the individual to the exercise of his own personal religion. They were deficient in their power to develop a really comprehensive theological outlook which did justice both to the Bible and the Church. For this reason many of the early Evangelicals left the Church. Others, while remaining in it, were half-hearted in their attitude toward it.

Scott and Simeon alike were aware of these dangers and sought to meet and check them. Both maintained that, whatever the high authority of Scripture, due respect must be paid also to the authority of the Church, because it was provided for by Scripture and thus shares in the authority of Scripture. The Scripture and the Church cannot be set one against another, for both are brought into being by the divine Word. But their position was that Scripture has an antecedent character. It is the Word which creates the Church and determines the nature of its unalterable message. Therefore, the Church can teach nothing but that which Scripture allows. On its positive side it is the sphere in which the life promised in Scripture is to be realized, and in which we receive strength through sacrament and preaching to perform the duties

which Scripture lays upon us. In many respects these men's doctrine of the Church is high, but even so they fail to achieve a just balance of the claims of Scripture and the Church. Their conception of the Church tends to hide behind their other emphases. In some phases of Evangelical thought the idea of the Church is practically surrendered; Evangelicalism is identified with the cry, "The Bible and the Bible only."

In another respect also the exclusive biblicism of the Evangelicals tended to work harm. The doctrine of the sufficiency of Scripture could be interpreted in such a way as to limit the field of truth to what is contained in the Bible and to make men indifferent to knowledge which must be found elsewhere. Even Simeon seems unaware that he is living in stirring times when much is taking place that is threatening to shake the political and social structure of Europe to pieces. Only once or twice, as we can judge from his many sermons, does he raise his head from his Bible to comment upon what is going on. He seems not to hear the imperative voices which are asking for the consideration of new ideas, ideas which are in some cases destined to alter the direction of men's thinking. One almost hates to fault him in this. He is so in love with his Bible, so utterly convinced of its message, so able to communicate his passion to others, so conformed in mind and character to the spirit and teachings of the Bible, that he stands above our easy criticism. He is a master in his chosen field and his mastery springs in large measure from his capacity of being absorbed in what he finds in it.

But when this concentration upon the Bible as containing the sum of what needs to be known, not only about the realities of the spiritual world but also about the nature of the laws and operations of the physical world and the principles which govern human society, is looked at upon the level of the more ordinary Evangelical character and intelligence, we can appraise its effects. Undoubtedly it is the secret of the Evangelical's strength. He was conscious of having a certain body of truth to which he could appeal; he knew the ground on which he stood and upon what he based his Christian thought and action. There were few margins of uncertainty. His view of the Bible gave him just that possibility of a simple and unambiguous interpretation of life which many, even in the Church, are conscious of lacking today. But that same concentration sometimes made him narrow, unreceptive of new ideas, and impatient of aspects of truth which lay beyond the circle of his special interests and convictions. Evangelicalism produced few scholars of the first rank, except in the field of the Bible. Even in that field, scholarship, beyond a growing mastery of historical and technical detail,

hardly advanced above the level to which Scott and Simeon had raised it until well after the middle of the nineteenth century. There is little evidence in the writings of the earlier nineteenth century Evangelicals that they were aware of those currents of religious and philosophical thought which were setting in in England and still more strongly in Germany.

THE THEORY OF VERBAL INSPIRATION

The Evangelical believed in the literal inspiration of the Bible. This has sometimes been made a matter of reproach of the Evangelical school. It is true that a certain group of Evangelicals clung to the doctrine of literal inspiration long after it was seen to be untenable on many grounds. Their numbers are now few within the Anglican Church, but they constitute an important group outside its borders who regard it as the hall-mark of their Evangelical genuineness. These are the Fundamentalists, though it is to be noted that adherence to the theory of literal inspiration is by no means the only differentia of Fundamentalism. What is not accurate is its application to Evangelicals of the older type. At the heart of Fundamentalism there is a denial of the findings of modern biblical scholarship, even in their most sober and generally accepted form. It has the quality of protest; it stands in reaction to other and, in the present day, more commonly entertained views as to the nature of the Bible and the meaning of inspiration.

In believing in verbal inspiration the older Evangelicals were in line with a tradition that runs backward through the Reformation and the Schoolmen to some of the early patristic writers. Certainly their opinions in the matter were not different from those held by most Churchmen of whatever type almost to the closing decades of the last century. In fact the distinctive feature of the Evangelicals' attitude to the Bible is to be found in their emphasis upon the "sufficiency" of Scripture, rather than upon the nature and extent of its inspiration. No Evangelical, for instance, ever expressed the doctrine of literal inspiration more strongly than did J. H. Blunt in his once very popular "Household Theology," first published in 1868 and many times reprinted. Blunt was far from belonging to the Evangelical party.

"The inspired person was actually and effectively controlled by the Divine power to such an extent, that the report or record of the communication was as substantially exact at his lips or hands as if it had been an audible word of God, or a Divine autograph. Anything thus recorded must be of the very highest

authority possible, and can admit of no doubt or disbelief without calling into question the truthfulness of God."¹⁰

The Evangelicals' view of inspiration sometimes led them to absurdities. The records of the transactions of the meeting of the Eclectic Society of January 19th, 1800, includes the following utterance of the Rev. Josiah Pratt, then the youngest member of a group which included, among others, John Venn, Scott, and Simeon. "It is said by some that St. John writes ungrammatically. If so, then the Holy Ghost writes by him ungrammatically. But if so, it is as God does in other things. He would teach us to despise little things." This is the doctrine of verbal inspiration at its worst, but it is usually dealt with on a higher plane. Scott's definition of inspiration in the preface to his commentary may be taken as typical of the more thoughtful Evangelical position and of the distinctions which were commonly made of the manner of inspiration:

"By 'the divine inspiration of the Scriptures' the author would be understood to mean such a complete and immediate communication, by the Holy Spirit, to the minds of the sacred writers, of those things which could not have been otherwise known; and such an effectual superintendency, as to those particulars, concerning which they might otherwise obtain information; as sufficed absolutely to preserve them from every degree of error, in all things, which could in the least affect any of the doctrines or precepts contained in their writings, or mislead any person, who considered them as a divine and infallible 'standard of truth and duty.' Every sentence, in this view, must be considered as 'the sure testimony of God,' in that sense in which it is proposed as truth . . . They wrote indeed in such language, as their different talents, educations, habits, and associations suggested, or rendered natural to them; but the Holy Ghst so entirely superintended them, when writing, as to exclude every improper expression, and to guide them to all those which are best suited to their several subjects."¹¹

We notice in this definition several points which Simeon also makes. Inspiration is particularly to be asserted in the case of truths which lie beyond human reason and which touch doctrine and duty. Scott elsewhere insists that the records of historical facts are also inspired and must, therefore, be accepted as true, but he seems to have accepted the position that there are degrees of *intensity* in inspiration. All parts of Scripture are equally infallible, but some are naturally of more im-

¹⁰Joseph Henry Blunt, *Household Theology*. The above quotation is from the London, 1906, edition, p. 2.

¹¹*Op. cit.*, Preface, p. 19.

portance than others. That must affect the emphasis we place upon them and the importance of the conclusions drawn from them. No theory of inspiration suspends human judgment or neglects the canon of common sense. Here was a principle which some of Scott's successors were wont to invoke with a greater frequency than he perhaps intended. It exposed any passage to the decision of the reader who might exercise the right to determine whether it was of prime importance or not. Both Scott and Simeon, however, demand that no part of Scripture be neglected, even though it is discovered to be practically less useful than others. To do so is to let God's word go by default.

Scott, further, makes a distinction between *plenary* and *superintendent* inspiration. In the former, truth is conveyed completely and without any qualification whatsoever by the Holy Spirit to the mind and pen of the sacred writer. The writer may sometimes not understand what the Spirit speaks through him; he is merely an instrument upon which the Spirit plays. In superintendent inspiration the human agent plays a larger part. He is freer to use his own language and to express truth in his own way. In this case the Spirit's work is directive and, as Scott frequently urges, protective. The biblical writer is thus kept from making mistakes and, what is more, kept within the bounds of good proportion. He makes an amusing comment at the meeting of the Eclectic Society already referred to; that what St. Paul says in a few words under superintendence, when he asks for the cloak left at Troas, would have made John Wesley run to several pages of his journal.

L. E. Binns comments unfavourably upon the effects of the Evangelical's doctrine of inspiration upon his use of the Bible. He says in part,

"Thus the Evangelical is exactly in the same position as the schoolmen of the middle ages who, 'holding to a traditional belief in the plenary and verbal inspiration of the whole Bible, and remorselessly pursuing this belief to its logical results, had fallen into a method of exposition exclusively *textarian*. The Bible, both in theory and practice, had ceased to be a record of real events and the lives and teachings of living men. It had become an arsenal of texts, and these texts were regarded as detached invincible weapons to be legitimately seized and wielded in theological warfare."¹²

Of much Evangelical biblicism this was undoubtedly true, but these weapons were not flourished only in Evangelical hands. These are the

¹²Leonard Elliott Binns, *The Evangelical Movement in the English Church*, p. 147, quoting in part Frederick Seebohm, *The Oxford Reformers, Colet, Erasmus, and More*, p. 17 (*Everyman's Library* edition).

very misuses of the Bible against which we find Scott and Simeon vigorously protesting. In their protests against them we discover some of the most distinctive of their biblical positions. Much of what they have to say is as relevant to our own use of the Bible as it was to that of their contemporaries.

The cardinal principles of right interpretation of Scripture, Scott says, are three: the endeavour to discover the original and simple sense of the biblical passage; the interpretation of the passage in a manner which is consonant with the meaning of Scripture as a whole; and the care which must be taken not to lay upon the passage a meaning which is foreign to its original intention. These are searching requirements. If, from our standpoint, Scott himself did not always meet them, we shall remember that he lived and died before the rise of modern historical criticism. He had few of our critical tools. He did not, and could not, appraise the passage in the full light of that context to which so much attention is paid today, the context supplied by the exact time in which it was written, the particular moment in a long process of religious development, and the whole complex of social, ethical, and religious concepts which surrounded the man who wrote it. We cannot ask the man to step out of his time into ours. Perhaps we ought not to wish him to share in our contemporary misjudgments. We can, however, recognize the qualities of the true interpreter in the following extracts which have been preserved by his son:

"Every passage of Scripture has its real, literal, and distinct meaning, which it is the first duty of the commentator, whether from the pulpit or the press, to trace out and explain; whatever application he may think fit subsequently to make of it: and that, speaking of the Scriptures generally, the spiritual meaning is no other than this real meaning, the actual intention of the passage, with its fair, legitimate application to ourselves."¹³

"In explaining the word of God, we should remember that there is in every portion one precise meaning, previously to our employing our ingenuity upon it, which it is our business with reverent intention to investigate. To discover that meaning we should soberly and carefully examine the context, and consider the portion in question in the relation in which it stands."¹⁴

To put it in terms more familiar to the older Evangelicals than to ourselves, Scott was not, nor Simeon either, a friend of accommodation." That was the common though dubious principle of allowing

¹³John Scott, *Op. cit.* Amer. Ed. of 1856, pp. 412 f.

¹⁴*Ibid.*

an isolated text, or collection of texts, to carry any meaning which the commentator, or preacher, wished to put upon it. The more thoughtful Evangelicals agreed. "Why," Richard Cecil asks, "should we go to questionable passages when the same things are said clearly elsewhere? For instance, *There is a friend that sticketh closer than a brother*. This may be used as an allusion, but should never be used as the ground-work of our setting forth the love of Christ."

Simeon is in some ways more remarkable than Scott in the balance of his scriptural views and in his refusal to allow the Bible to be the subject of forced interpretations. One of the points which he constantly makes is that the sense of any passage is to be determined only by the careful examination of the general meanings of the book in which it is found, and that these meanings again must be compared with the prevailing teachings of the Old or New Testaments, in whichever the book occurs. Both portions of the Bible are divinely inspired and neither may be neglected, but he recognizes that there is a certain progress in revelation, as that of the New Testament possesses a greater clarity and depth of intensity than that of the Old. He is particularly the enemy of *ex parte* interpretation. In the preface to *Horae Homileticae* he writes:

"The Author . . . feels it impossible to repeat too often, or to avow too distinctly, that it is an invariable rule with him to give to every portion of the Word of God its full and proper force, without considering one moment what scheme it favours or whose system it is likely to advance."¹⁵

Simeon has in mind here the way in which the various Evangelical schools of his day tried to bend the teaching of the Bible in the direction of their own Arminian or Calvinistic preferences. His own position in regard to that contemporary theological controversy is unusual, and it affected his interpretation of Scripture. He refuses to accept either Arminianism or Calvinism to the exclusion of the other and at the same time rejects the possibility of a compromise position. There is no "golden mean," a phrase which he uses frequently and for which he has no love. The truth, he maintains, does not lie in the middle, but in the extremes. He rests his position in what we should probably speak of as the dialectic nature of Scripture. The Bible faces us with truths which seem to us opposed, and even in essential contradiction. Such, for instance, are the sovereign will of God and man's own moral freedom. It is only as we learn to accept both as true and recognize that the Bible does not allow our compact systematizations that we come to terms with Scripture and discover its genius.

¹⁵*Op. cit.*, 8th. Ed. Preface, p. xxiii.

very misuses of the Bible against which we find Scott and Simeon vigorously protesting. In their protests against them we discover some of the most distinctive of their biblical positions. Much of what they have to say is as relevant to our own use of the Bible as it was to that of their contemporaries.

The cardinal principles of right interpretation of Scripture, Scott says, are three: the endeavour to discover the original and simple sense of the biblical passage; the interpretation of the passage in a manner which is consonant with the meaning of Scripture as a whole; and the care which must be taken not to lay upon the passage a meaning which is foreign to its original intention. These are searching requirements. If, from our standpoint, Scott himself did not always meet them, we shall remember that he lived and died before the rise of modern historical criticism. He had few of our critical tools. He did not, and could not, appraise the passage in the full light of that context to which so much attention is paid today, the context supplied by the exact time in which it was written, the particular moment in a long process of religious development, and the whole complex of social, ethical, and religious concepts which surrounded the man who wrote it. We cannot ask the man to step out of his time into ours. Perhaps we ought not to wish him to share in our contemporary misjudgments. We can, however, recognize the qualities of the true interpreter in the following extracts which have been preserved by his son:

"Every passage of Scripture has its real, literal, and distinct meaning, which it is the first duty of the commentator, whether from the pulpit or the press, to trace out and explain; whatever application he may think fit subsequently to make of it: and that, speaking of the Scriptures generally, the spiritual meaning is no other than this real meaning, the actual intention of the passage, with its fair, legitimate application to ourselves."¹³

"In explaining the word of God, we should remember that there is in every portion one precise meaning, previously to our employing our ingenuity upon it, which it is our business with reverent intention to investigate. To discover that meaning we should soberly and carefully examine the context, and consider the portion in question in the relation in which it stands."¹⁴

To put it in terms more familiar to the older Evangelicals than to ourselves, Scott was not, nor Simeon either, a friend of accommodation." That was the common though dubious principle of allowing

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NINETEENTH CENTURY CONTROVERSIES AND THEIR EFFECTS

The decades which followed Simeon's death in 1836 constitute a period of controversy of a very different character, namely, that between the Evangelicals and the Tractarians and later the representatives of the Anglo-Catholic movement. Much of the Evangelical writing during this period became defensive and polemical in nature. The appeal to the Bible was often made in the interests of Evangelical principles and simplicity as opposed to what was felt to be an accent upon institutionalism foreign to the teachings of Scripture. The real service of the Evangelicals during this period is, however, to be found less in their formal contributions to the defence of their party than in the extent to which, by their teaching and preaching, they acquainted people with the Bible, made its reading a common practice, and won for it an influence and authority in religious and secular life which extended far beyond the limits of their own group.

The years roughly embraced by the dates 1843 and 1860 were, both in England and America, critical for the traditional Evangelical attitude toward the Bible. The first date saw the publication of John Stuart Mill's "System of Logic." We are not concerned with the influence of Mill's work upon English thought generally. What is of importance are the implications of his teaching for the Evangelical position. Mill found a basis for moral conduct and religious attitudes in principles not drawn from the Bible, and valid independently of the supernaturalism upon which the Christian tradition is based. While his work was ignored by most Evangelicals the significance of his positions was recognized by others. English thinkers, even when they had not accepted the Christian faith, had paid deference to the distinctive quality of Christian morality, but upon the Mill's assumptions the uniqueness of biblical ethic was challenged together with the whole structure of biblical revelation. Christianity was in danger of losing its last disputed stronghold. The publication of Bishop Meade's "The Bible and the Classics" in America in 1861 indicates that the Evangelical was obliged to create new defences. Meade's book is an able and scholarly comparison of the moral system of the Bible and those of the Latin writers. It is now little known. In fact interest was diverted, almost from the date of the book's appearance, from the field of such quiet and learned debate to more contemporary issues.

Darwin's "Origin of Species" appeared in 1859. Its thesis of natural evolution cut alike at the biblical doctrine of creation and the historical character of the book of Genesis. If what Darwin propounded was true,

the Bible could not be relied upon for its statements of scientific fact, its literal accuracy was in question, and the doctrine of its infallibility consequently rendered untenable. Of far more immediate consequence to Evangelical thought was the publication in 1860 of Bunsen's "Biblical Researches" in "Essays and Reviews" and two years later of Bishop Colenso's "Introduction to the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua." In these what was regarded as a subversive attack upon the Bible came from within the Church itself. The right to submit the Bible to historical criticism had been allowed and the Bible thrust from its hitherto impregnable position of inerrancy.

The effects of these direct and indirect attacks upon the traditional orthodoxy was not to destroy Evangelicalism in the Church, but to divide the Evangelical party, which up to this time had been fairly compact and homogeneous. There were losses to the Broad-Church and Catholic wings. The Fundamentalists consolidated themselves as a group opposed to any change in their inherited scriptural views and soon ceased to play a significant part in the English or Episcopal Churches in either influence or numbers. Of the others a very considerable number remained, and still remain, in the true Evangelical succession both in their doctrinal and ecclesiastical emphases and in their devotion to the Bible as the primary authority for the Christian life, while they accepted new positions in regard to the Bible and often made valuable contributions to modern biblical scholarship. An outstanding Evangelical of this type was the late Bishop Moule of Durham.

The Evangelicalism of a still larger group is hard to characterize. Nevertheless, it has certain features which distinguish it from the older Evangelicalism. These are the result of the impact upon religious thought subsequent to 1860 of three principal factors: the rise of historical criticism of the Bible, the doctrine of evolution, and the increasing influence in England and America of Kantian, and especially of Hegelian, idealism. The new biblical movement emphasized the gradual nature of divine revelation and the successive stages of God's self-discovery discernible in the deepening and widening spiritual experiences of the Jewish and Christian peoples. The doctrine of evolution, when once accepted by religious thinkers, was quickly transferred from the biological realm to the moral and spiritual. Idealism in philosophy, which hitherto had left little mark upon English thought, except in the case of Carlyle, gave to theology a movement in the direction of immanentism as opposed to transcendentalism. These influences did not lead the Evangelical of the type of which we are speaking to surrender his belief in supernatural revelation, but they did affect his estimate of its nature and increase the number of experiences in which it was to be sought.

The older Evangelicalism laid its greatest emphasis upon those sovereign acts of God by which man is delivered from sin, his reconciliation with God effected, and his peace secured. At the center of its gospel stood the Cross, the signal means of divine redemption. The newer Evangelicalism, without denying these truths, stresses God's activity within history, and the culmination of God's revelation in the life, person, and work of Jesus, whose historical character and place in human history must not be forgotten. Thus it draws more from the Gospels, and less from St. Paul. It has produced more Lives of Christ than treatises on the atonement and the doctrine of justification. It has rendered, and continues to render, a great service to contemporary Christianity, particularly in the recovery for the person of Jesus of a reality and power which were often lost when He was regarded too exclusively from the standpoint of the Evangelical scheme of redemption.

In the present century there have been two main tendencies in New Testament study. One is to be seen in the importance given to the eschatological element in the New Testament as a whole and in the teaching of Jesus. The other is to be noted in the increasing recognition that the traditions of the life and teachings of Jesus were preserved and formulated by the exigencies of the teaching and preaching of the primitive Church, and that the Gospels, far from being merely biographies of Jesus and repositories of His teaching, are to be themselves regarded as forming part of the Church's *evangelium*, or the proclamation of God's redemption of the world in Christ. It is too soon to estimate the result of these tendencies upon contemporary Evangelical thought and preaching, but they have not been without results. There is taking place in some quarters a reaction from the exaggerated empiricism and theological immanentism of the previous generation for which the re-study of the New Testament has been in part responsible. In preaching there is a recovered accent upon such doctrines as the sovereignty of God, grace, and redemption from sin. The Evangelical, even while he finds himself differing radically from the older Evangelical in his view of the nature of the Bible and the mode of its inspiration, is perhaps conscious of standing in closer relationship to him in his estimate of the truths which are primarily to be drawn from the Bible than he would have done a few decades ago.

The reaction of which we speak may go too far. It would be a decided loss if we should overlook in the interest of new theologies or fresh insights into the nature of the New Testament message what we owe to our immediate predecessors. To quote some words of Professor Clement C. J. Webb, it behooves us "to do equal justice alike

to the self-existent Reality apart from which what is called 'religious experience' is no revelation of God, and to the religious experience apart from which the self-existent Reality must remain forever unrevealed."¹⁶ Dr. Webb is asking of the theologian and preacher the same recognition of the manifold aspects of revelation, to which equal justice must be done if theology is to be fruitful for the future, that Charles Simeon asked of the interpreter of the Bible when he laid it down as a cardinal principle that regard must be paid to the whole of Scripture and to all its sharply opposed truths, without prejudice of party feeling or undue deference to the momentary fashion of thought.

¹⁶C. J. Webb, *Religious Thought in England from 1850*, p. 169.

BOOK REVIEW.

Education in New Jersey, 1630-1871, by Nelson R. Burr, Princeton, N. J. Princeton University Press. 1942. Pp. 355.

Dr. Burr has made a fine contribution to the history of education in his study of one of our great commonwealths. New Jersey is an ideal state for the study of the development of education on all levels because it has many heritages. It was settled by the Dutch, the Swedes, the Germans, the Scots, the Scotch-Irish, the Yankees from New England, as well as by the English. Each group founded its own churches and had to meet the problem of establishing schools so that the youth of its faith might not collapse into illiteracy and paganism.

Education in Europe was usually a function of the Church when the Thirteen Colonies were founded. In the colonies, the churches accepted the challenge of the training of youth. Education and religion were thus not separated and the minister felt obligated to provide secular as well as religious instruction for the children of his flock. But in New Jersey the missionaries and teachers faced not only conflicting religious bodies, using several languages, but also scattered settlements. There might be enough children for one school, but not enough for the schools of several denominations.

With thoroughness and detachment, Dr. Burr traces the beginnings and development of the work of each denomination and gives cross sections of the contributions of all the churches. The educational effort of the Jewish people is also included. Any one of the churches may be chosen as an example of the quality of this study. As early as 1704 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel announced a plan for education by its missionaries and schoolmasters. These men were to teach reading, writing, and the catechism, and to give special attention to poor children, Indians and Negroes. Religious tracts and books were to be furnished free to the poor. The whole theory of education for the masses was envisioned by the S. P. G. in the 18th century, to come to full fruition in the 19th as universal elementary education received support by the state.

In the 19th century the Episcopal Church of New Jersey attempted to found a complete church school system, including elementary and high schools and a college. Success was greatest on the high school level. St. Mary's Hall in Burlington, an academy for girls, is described by the author as Bishop Doane's "best gift to education in the state of New Jersey." In the long run the state-supported schools took care of elementary education and eighteenth century colleges like Princeton and Rutgers topped off the educational structure.

This development was the pattern in other Protestant churches as well. The Presbyterians, always devoted to education, settled in sufficient numbers to make Princeton an intercolonial institution of great influence. The Roman Catholics alone, following the mass migration from Germany and Ireland in the middle years of the 19th century, founded and have maintained a complete school system from the elementary grades through the university.

Dr. Burr not only traces the development of education from the many beginnings to the triumph of the common school system, but he also analyses all the cultural and social factors that have appeared in the long history of the state. In short, he has written the story of American civilization in one of its most important areas. The book is, therefore, of importance for the historian, the minister, and all laymen, and not merely for the specialist in education. The clergyman will find the work of his church summarized and integrated into the work of other faiths.

The volume represents a prodigious amount of work. The footnotes and the bibliography are keys to the whole literature of education in New Jersey, and also to the history of the churches in the educational field. The builders of America have all been hardy races of men. The reviewer knows of no better introduction to the creation of the American way of life, free from hereditary caste and with opportunities for all, than this study by Dr. Burr.

FRANK J. KLINGBERG,
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A Letter from the Historiographer of the Diocese of Minnesota

592 Lincoln Avenue
Saint Paul, Minnesota

March 12, 1943.

Dear Dr. Stowe:

The HISTORICAL MAGAZINE has certainly made good during these eleven years. It is indispensable. How much we should have missed without it. . . .

Faithfully yours,

FRANCIS L. PALMER.

